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DECEMBER 28, 1984

Wm. F. Buckley Jr. on
THE SECRET MEMO
—See page 54

NATIONAL REVIEW

GREEN FUNGUS IN Germany

MICHAEL GREVE

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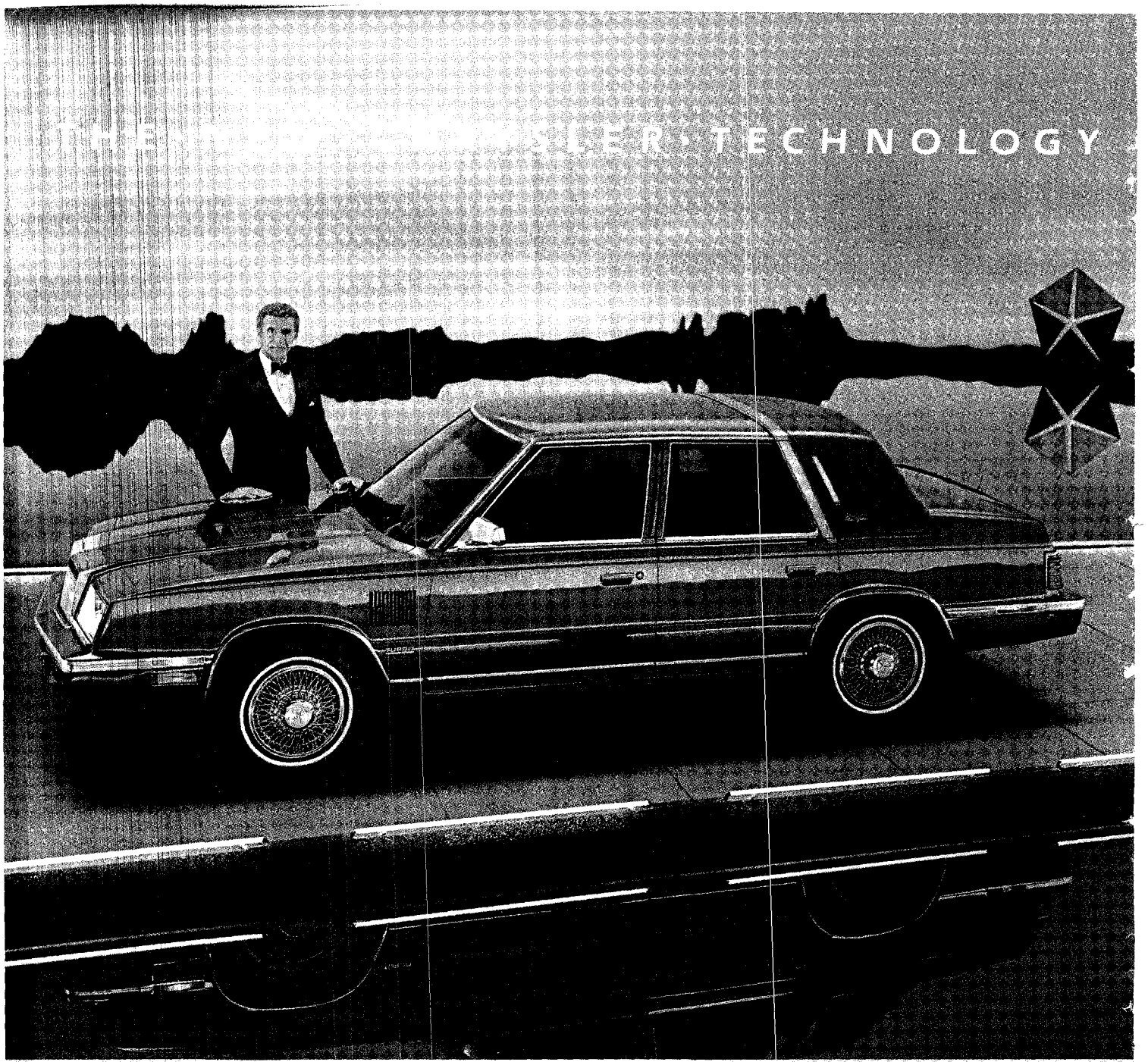

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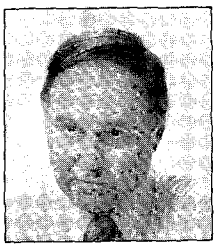
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LETTERS

Population Plans

In newspaper accounts of the UN Conference on Population, our delegation's position sounded absurd: Prosperous people, it seemed, were less fertile—as if food and shelter constituted a birth-control device. James Buckley's article "All Alone at the UN" [Dec. 14] made more sense. I can understand that industrialization would reduce the economic incentive for an individual family to have more children, so I can understand the "historical linkage between rising income and declining birth rates."

But I believe that there is an important issue which our delegation did not address. There are still people, including many Roman Catholics, who do not believe at all in the necessity of limiting population and, indeed, advocate large families. They probably have arguments that ought to be heard, and, in any event, they are much too large a group to be ignored.

Brendan Mead
Boston, Mass.

Playing with Fire

As an electrical-engineering student, I'm concerned about D. Keith Mano's leniency toward left-wing art: "Should these items have been repressed in the first place? I think not. Like electric current, leftist vitality is generated by resistance" [Nov. 16]. I hadn't thought much about politics in terms of circuit theory, but I suppose no current flow (infinite resistance) may be a little like totalitarianism. With no resistance, on the other hand, a large current flows momentarily. Then something burns or blows up.

William J. Latham
Rolla, Mo.

Taxing Our Patience

Tom Bethell's "Taxing the Middle Class" [Oct. 5] was one of the most depressing report cards on the Reagan Administration I have yet read. It hurt the more coming from a thoughtful man who supports the basic ideals of the President. Here we are, nearly four years later, with a net tax *increase*. Is there no one the President can say no to—not James Baker, not Bob (or Elizabeth) Dole, not Howard Baker? These names are those of alleged friends. Would that they were openly our enemies!

I recall how the President "swallowed hard" before signing TEFRA. Could he not have swallowed even harder and vetoed the damned thing? Perhaps he should be called the Great Compromiser rather than the Great Communicator.

It was Lenin who first asked *What Is to Be Done?* It's lousy company, but I ask the same. What must we do? Do we need yet another American revolution?

John T. Cody
Pittsford, N.Y.

Mass Appeal

Your recent editorial "Magnum Big Deal" ["The Week," Nov. 16], about the liturgical woes of the Catholic Church, perpetuates the false dichotomy found in almost all media accounts of the present situation: *viz.*, that the only two choices are the (quite rare) Tridentine Mass and the (often insipid) Mass in English and other vernaculars.

It is not so, for there is a *tertium quid.*

In many parts of the United States the Mass continues to be celebrated in Latin (often with Gregorian chant) according to the *Novus Ordo* rite promulgated in 1969, which is very similar to the Tridentine Rite but free from the cumbersome barriers to its celebration that have undone the latter.

Celebration of the *Novus Ordo* Latin Mass is promoted by the Latin Liturgy Association, a society whose members include several American bishops as well as many clergy and laity.

NR readers with an interest in Latin liturgy may wish to write to me at the Department of Classical Languages, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La. 70803.

Robert J. Edgeworth
Secretary
Latin Liturgy Association
Baton Rouge, La.

It was pleasant to see that NATIONAL REVIEW and some other secular publications are still interested in the fate of our traditional Mass, even these twenty years after its supposed demise. Such publicity should make the modernists feel delightfully uncomfortable.

This latest "grant" of the Vatican is, to date, its most frank admission that there is indeed a doctrinal difference that goes beyond the practical behavior of the liturgical establishment, to the theoret-

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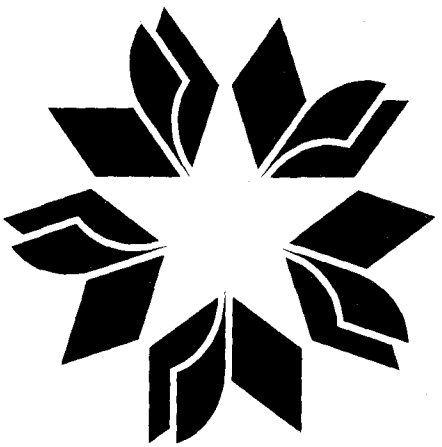

Winners of the 1984 American Book Awards

Fiction

VICTORY OVER JAPAN
by Ellen Gilchrist
Little Brown

Non Fiction

ANDREW JACKSON AND THE COURSE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY
by Robert V. Remini
Harper & Row

First Work: Fiction

STONES FOR IBARRA
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ical framework of sacred worship. From the standpoint of orthodoxy, the Arian element of the Fourth Eucharistic Prayer is far worse than an occasional "clown Mass." The Church has always had to cope with sinful behavior—a result of man's fallen nature. It is when her theologians start to find theoretical justification for sin that she starts to worry. For Mass attendance to decline is one thing —it is quite another when the Mass itself no longer speaks of its own sacrificial nature; or to the reality of sin.

Rev. Charles T. Brusca
Boca Raton, Fla.

Right Religions

It is with dismay that I have noted an apparent increase in *NR* in the implication that Christianity is the foundation for all that good *NR* readers believe in. As a conservative, an *NR* reader, and an American Jew, I am getting uncomfortable with all this but, as Tom Bethell essentially said, better Christianity with any of its historical blemishes than nothing at all. However, I must vehemently draw the line at the offensive and inaccurate concept offered by George Gilder in Bethell's "Christian Capital" [Nov. 2].

First, there has been plenty of exploitation/coercion of the weak by Christian leaders in Christian societies. Second, Judaism offers over and over in its prayer and literature the concept of the protection of the weak and less fortunate. Third (and it staggers me even to have to consider reminding Mr. Gilder of this), the Christian religion, its laws, and Christ all sprang directly from Judaism. Your religious canons are the flowers that grew from our roots. However, our roots still live, and it is untrue that only societies with Christian foundations avoid "coercing" their poor and weak.

It is this kind of mentality toward religion in America that causes many people (and many conservatives, believe it or not) to worry about the resurgence of Christianity in our leaders and in our schools. Righteousness, morality, and certainly conservatism are not the exclusive domain of Christians.

Joseph M. Ullman
Newark, Del.

Free French

The recent exchange between William Rickenbacker and Milton Friedman [Oct. 5] on the subject of free banking could not have come at a more opportune moment, as I have just translated several articles by Charles Coquelin, head of the nineteenth-century French free-banking school. Coquelin's arguments were so potent that in his time all but a very few French economists were convinced by them. Unfortunately, the decline in the French classical school as a whole kept these ideas from receiving the international recognition they deserved.

Coquelin's articles apply directly to the point at issue in the Friedman-Rickenbacker discussion. The study of business cycles made by Coquelin covered a period when notes were redeemable in specie; his eloquent refutation of J.-B. Say's theory of the business cycle shows why business fluctuations still occur under such a system if there exists a bank with the sole privilege of issuing notes: The monopoly profits enjoyed by this bank serve to distort investment patterns in the same manner as a credit expansion.

Coquelin's study of free banking in America supplements and expands the conclusions derived from Scotland's experience. It is important to remember that what is often referred to as "free banking" in America was a system that varied from state to state. In the Western states, where charters served to restrict entry, notable fluctuations in the economy occurred. The banks of New England, however, served in Coquelin's mind as examples of the perfect system. Not only were there no barriers to entry, but, unlike the Scottish banking system, the system in New England permitted banks to be set up as limited-liability corporations. As a result, the ratio of bank capital to deposits was extremely high, and the monetary system quite stable. In Scotland, on the other hand, the condition of unlimited responsibility discouraged investment in bank stock and encouraged interest-bearing deposits, rendering the system slightly less than ideal in Coquelin's view.

The work of Charles Coquelin merits serious attention both as an important chapter in the history of economic thought and as a defense of free banking. Further study may serve to convince economists that government should get out of the banking business completely.

Paul St. F. Blair
Cincinnati, Ohio

Sea Change

In Mr. Bering-Jensen's piece "Evelyn Waugh: The Last Tourist" [Nov. 2], he says something about the "great hotel ships . . . that call at all the famous ports of the Mediterranean: Cairo . . ."

Since when is Cairo a Mediterranean port? Did he mean Alexandria?

Richard Arnandez
Lafayette, La.

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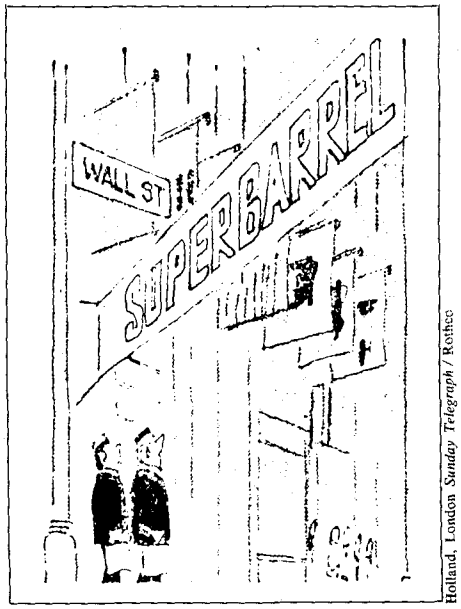
FOR THE RECORD

Robert Dole, says a conservative GOP analyst, was conservatives' second choice for Senate Majority Leader; first choice was "anybody else." With Dole as Majority Leader and **Bob Packwood** as new head of Senate Finance Committee, gloomy supply-siders say two key positions are in hands of "revenue-enhancers." . . . Conservative **Alan Simpson** (Wyo.) did win second highest Senate position—Senate Whip—but man he beat was **Robert Kasten** (Wis.), considered much more conservative. . . . Top spot in House GOP remains unchanged with re-election of **Robert Michel** as Minority Leader. . . . **Ronald Reagan**'s 11th Commandment—Thou shalt not criticize another Republican—will be sorely tested by 99th Congress. Relations between Dole's "moderate" Senate Republicans and Young Turks in House aren't good. Dole disdains **Jack Kemp** and **Newt Gingrich**, and feeling is mutual. Gingrich refers to Dole as "the tax collector of the welfare state." . . . Robert and **Elizabeth Dole** are now a two-limousine family: one for him as Majority Leader, the other for her as Secretary of Transportation. But Dole says his limo will always be pretty full of fellow senators: "I think I promised two or three guys that I'd pick them up every day. That was the margin of victory. It's not busing but it's close."

Tip O'Neill has joined ranks of lame ducks. After House Democrats elected him Speaker one more time, O'Neill made it official: "Two years from now, I'll draw down the shades and make a quiet exit." . . . Rep. **James C. Wright** was re-elected House Majority Leader. While O'Neill was mellow, Wright came out swinging. He told House Democrats: "We are not prepared to be the patsies for the artful pretenders at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue." If there's going to be a tax bill, said Wright, it's going to be Reagan's tax bill. . . . Democrats also face internal trouble. Rep. **James Jones** wanted to bend a party rule and stay on as chairman of House Budget Committee, but House Dems voted 124 to 115 to keep rule, thereby paving way for Rep. **William Gray III** (Pa.) to seek key spot. Gray is black, and several members of Black Caucus interpreted vote for rules change as vote against Black Caucus. Gray is big on social spending, and it's safe to say he won't have vote of departing chairman Jones. "If the chairman doesn't show a lot of respect to conservatives," says Jones, "he won't be successful." Rep. **Martin Frost** (Tex.), also in running for Budget chairman, echoes Jones. He says House Democrats have "got to move to the center." . . . Virginia Governor **Charles S. Robb** (D.) says Democrats have to find out why so many white males consider it "socially unacceptable" to support the party. Among Robb's recommendations: abolish party caucuses of blacks, Hispanics, and others because they give impression that party is "nothing but a collection of special interests." . . . House Ethics Committee report says **Geraldine Ferraro** did violate Ethics in Government Act by neglecting to file details of her husband's finances. Report is said to be masterpiece of understatement, but there should be enough in it for Sen. **Alfonse D'Amato** (R., N.Y.) to make good use of should she try to unseat him in '86.



Holland, London *Sunday Telegraph* / Rothco

"The oil sector is very exciting at the moment."

Jeane Kirkpatrick is leaving the Administration, but she is not leaving quietly. In interview with *Los Angeles Times*, she said anonymous leaks from inside White House have depressed her and given her an added incentive to return to private life. But she may return to spotlight pretty soon—this time as counselor to Reagan, as soon as present counselor, **Edwin Meese**, becomes Attorney General. . . . White House insiders are praising **Ben Elliott**, deputy assistant to the President and director of speechwriting, for his work during campaign. Famous for not looking to be famous, Elliott is a favorite of supply-siders and Reaganites within Administration. He was a prime shaper of campaign rhetoric on economic growth. . . . As deadline nears for U.S. decision on withdrawing from UNESCO, **Doudou Diene**, director of UNESCO's UN liaison office, warned Administration that it would be a "dangerous miscalculation" to leave. "If the United States participates," Diene said, "ideas will be discussed in a more moderate way." . . . Is rain going to turn yellow in Central America? Pentagon spokesman Lieutenant Colonel **Anthony Lake** says Nicaragua now has protective equipment against chemical weapons. Since no country in region has chemical weapons, observers wonder why Sandinistas need the equipment. . . . Research Center for Religion and Human Rights in Closed Societies and Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith are holding conference in New York on January 29 to focus on religion in USSR. Rev. **Georgi P. Vins**, leader of unregistered (dissident) Baptists, will be one of the speakers. For more information write the Research Center at: Room 448, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10115, or call: 212-870-2481.

Election post-mortem: "**Walter Mondale** didn't lead the Democrats to defeat," remarks **Eugene McCarthy**, "he just escorted them."

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HOW TO TALK TO TEENAGERS ABOUT DRINKING AND DRIVING.

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Teenagers can get into a lot of trouble with alcohol. Even teenagers who don't drink. Often they aren't aware of the facts.

A new view of the statistics shows where part of the problem lies, and can lead to a better communication between adults and teenagers.

Teenagers are in the high-risk group. People between the ages of 16 and 24 represent only 20 percent of the licensed drivers of our country. But that same group is involved in 42 percent of all the alcohol-related fatal crashes. When you think about that, two tragic things are revealed:

First, not all teenagers killed in such accidents are themselves drunk at the time. Often they have had nothing to drink at all, but are passengers in cars driven by teenagers who have been drinking.

Second, teenagers are often on the roads late at night, especially on weekends, when most crashes involving alcohol occur. They are targets for cars driven by people who have had too much to drink.

Some facts about alcohol you might want to discuss with teenagers are often surprising to adults:

- One can of beer, as well as one eight-ounce glass of wine, and one 1½-ounce drink of 86-proof liquor are all equally intoxicating. The risk is the same regardless of what you've been drinking.
- The legal definition of intoxication is based on "Blood Alcohol Concentration" or "BAC." If you have a BAC of .10, you are legally drunk in most states. But for drivers or drinkers who are less experienced, a BAC of .05, or sometimes lower, can be dangerous.
- Even relatively low levels of alcohol can reduce your tolerance to injury, increasing the danger in an accident.

Arm your teenagers with the facts and give them time to reflect on them.

If expected to show good judgment, teenagers are more likely to live up to it.

Please discuss the problem of drinking and driving with your teenagers now, and if you think this advertisement will help, ask them to read it.

And keep in mind, that the best way to teach young people—as they may tell you—is by example.

The people of General Motors care, and urge teenagers, and their parents, to give serious thought to the dangers of drinking and driving. It's something we all can do.

This advertisement is part of our continuing effort to give customers useful information about their cars and trucks and the company that builds them.

GM
MARK OF EXCELLENCE

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THE WEEK

☐ Ronald Reagan won the second largest presidential victory in American history. Bob Dole squeaked in as Senate Majority Leader. *Q.:* Who has the mandate?

☐ Introducing the Packwood Principle: As Minnesota goes, so goes the Senate.

☐ Mr. Reagan is personally popular, so goes the argument, but has no mandate because he didn't win the House of Representatives. Near-final tally for the House: Democrats 253, Republicans 182. But the popular vote for the House tells a different story: The Democratic edge was a paper-thin 0.06 per cent, 39,000 votes out of 73 million cast. A swing of only twenty thousand votes would have produced a Republican popular-vote majority and, in theory, a 218 to 217 margin in the House, with decisive control. Instead, the Democrats show up with a 71-seat margin and control every committee in the House. The theory fails in the ancient practice of gerrymandering, wherewith local Democratic officeholders establish congressional districts to give their party 58.16 per cent of the House seats with 50.03 per cent of the vote; and in the process, thwart the popular will.

☐ The Reagan Administration's quest for arms control is off to a bad start. The White House has evaded a Senate request that it submit a report on Soviet violations of previous agreements by December 1. That might lower the tone of the upcoming Shultz-Gromyko talks, so the Senate will only get a secret interim summary. The Administration has a list of 19 violations so far, including Soviet radar forbidden under the ABM treaty, intercontinental missiles that exceed the limits of SALT II, and bomb tests that break the test-ban treaty of 1974. Just think of it this way—if the Senate closes its eyes now, it won't have to close them when it is asked to ratify the pact that is supposed to guarantee President Reagan his place in history.

☐ A hundred Nicaraguan soldiers, wounded in the effort to liberate that country from the Nicaraguans, have been flown to the Soviet Union for treatment. The Soviet Union, in turn, sends its soldiers, wounded in the effort to liberate Afghanistan from the Afghans, to East Germany for treatment. East Germany, in turn, pays the costs of this by selling surplus slaves to West Germany. This is clearly unfair to the West, so an international accord should be negotiated forthwith. We will send more aid to the Nicaraguan *Contras* and to the Afghans, and West Germany gets the shipping concession.

☐ Statistics from the Population Reference Bureau show that the average lifespan world wide rose from 55 to 61 between 1975 and 1983. Of the 58 nations reported on, only the Soviet Union and East Germany showed a decline in life expectancy. The greatest gain was made by the people of South Africa, who now live, on average, nine years longer than they did in 1975. Sorry about that.

☐ The second block in the building of the new Grenada fell into place last week when voters turned out in great numbers to sweep the three-month-old New National Party of Herbert Blaize to power, winning ten of the 15 parliamentary seats and leading in the race for two more. This was the party favored not only by the United States Government and its Caribbean allies but by better than seventy foreign business groups that have indicated interest in investing in Grenada *if* the centrist New National Party won. And with reason. Two weeks before the election Eric Gairy, whose legally elected and highly authoritarian government had been overthrown by Maurice Bishop and his Marxist thugs in 1979, was already trying to shake down two American businessmen who had opened up plants in Grenada in the past year. He demanded that

Secretary Regan's Trial Balloon

When just above the White House fence,
The shot and shell became intense
As businessmen took careful aim
Along with all the halt and lame,
The labor leaders, New York State,
Parishioners who pass the plate,
Until, an hour after dawn,
It pooped out on the West Wing lawn.

W. H. von Dreele

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

BOB DOLE, the new Senate Majority Leader, and Bob Packwood, the new chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, have something going between them. Spawned by pragmatism, now being reared by ideology, this political alliance will be hard to beat, its power being greater than that of James Baker, Richard Darman & Co. at the White House. The Administration's current resistance to a tax increase may well be undercut by the Dole/Packwood support for one.

Dole and Packwood are both plenty tough customers. "The difference between Howard Baker and Bob Dole," notes a White House Reaganite, "is what some people would call a cutting edge and others a mean streak. No one screwed Howard Baker because he was a nice guy. Today, no one wants to screw Bob Dole because he'll fix ya."

Packwood is also an interesting political specimen. Dole may have his mean streak; Packwood has his loner streak. The Oregonian has never been a team player. In the dog days of 1982, he suggested that Ronald Reagan was over the hill, possibly unable to govern (because Reagan was prone to anecdotalize during Cabinet sessions). Packwood openly proclaimed that the Republicans were trying "to build a party on white Anglo-Saxon males over forty," which strikes Packwood watchers here as amusing in view of the mammoth youth vote for Reagan six weeks ago. Packwood's backstabbing became so uncontrolled in 1983 that he was stripped of his chairmanship of the Republican Senate Campaign Committee. At the time Paul Laxalt commented that being "a maverick is great, but it's a luxury you can't afford in leadership."

Here's what we know about the alliance. We know that Dole and Packwood worked together to get Dole elected Majority Leader, there being no possibility of Packwood in the Finance chair unless Dole was elevated out of it. We know that Packwood has just hired back his former Commerce Committee chief counsel, William Diefenderfer, to head up the staff of the Finance Committee, which means that Chairman Packwood will hit the ground running. We know that on tax issues Packwood sounds awfully like Russell Long, i.e., "against simplification for simplification's sake," basically in favor of corporate tax breaks and, like Dole, in favor of letting all else wait until the deficit is addressed, a slippery pig if there ever was one. "Chances are that the Democrats on the House side are going to like what Packwood/Dole want more than what the White House wants," says a Republican senator who was edged out of a leadership spot.

The chief reason why the GOP senators voted for Dole as Majority Leader appears to be that he has the aspect (and reality) of independence. If there is an economic downturn between now and 1986, the Senate as a whole, and Republicans in particular, will look less like parties to it than they would have if, say, Richard Lugar, a Reagan water carrier, or Ted Stevens, a Reagan hatchet man, had been chosen for that center-stage hot spot.

A look at the 1986 GOP Senate prospects tells why the vote went as it did. With 22 GOP incumbents up for re-election that year, the Republicans' chances of keeping their majority are precarious. Florida's Paula Hawkins is "dead meat against Democratic Governor Bob Graham," says a conservative Hill analyst. John East of North Carolina is in trouble if challenged by Governor James Hunt, the outcome of which race would depend on Jesse Helms's organization. Transplanted Yankee Mack Mattingly (Ga.) and war hero Jeremiah Denton (Ala.) are both political targets in strongly Democratic states. "Don Nickles of Oklahoma will be in deep trouble if challenged by a strong Democrat like Congressman Dave McCurdy," notes a Southern Democratic state chairman.

Four Northern incumbents will face fierce challenges in 1986 if the economy does turn sour—Alfonse D'Amato (N.Y.), Robert Kasten (Wis.), Arlen Specter (Pa.), and Charles McC. Mathias (Md.). In the West, three seats should stay Republican, although Idaho's Steve Symms may not have sufficiently "personalized" himself, according to one New Right pundit. Barry Goldwater and Paul Laxalt will be vacating their seats; look for tight races between (probably) Democratic Governor Bruce Babbitt and GOP Representative John McCain in Arizona, and between GOP Representative Barbara Vucanovich and Democratic Representative Harry Reid in Nevada. One Republican seat from that trio could easily drop.

Add to this that history does not bode well for either party in elections coinciding with that party's sixth year in the White House, and one wonders what even the redivivus Bob Dole can do. —CATO

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they close their plants, fire their workers, deposit five thousand bucks in a Gairy account in Jamaica, and then, after the election, rehire workers from a Gairy-dominated labor union. No thanks, said the Americans. And no thanks, said most of Grenada's 48,000 registered voters, who, having been ruled alternately by rightist and leftist strong-arm regimes, opted for the kind of moderation they have been living with for the last 13 months. They can now get on with the business of rebuilding their economy.

☐ Pollsters are still scratching their heads over the Australian elections. Prime Minister Bob Hawke went into the election with a 67 per cent favorable rating. The country was booming, with an annual growth rate of 10 per cent. Inflation had been tamped down. Hawke had stilled fears in the business community by encouraging industrial expansion. Although a former trade unionist and head of the traditionally leftist Labour Party, Hawke was pro-American in word and deed. While he favors a nuclear-free zone in the Pacific and a nuclear freeze, Australia's harbors have remained hospitable to American naval vessels, and its mines have continued to produce uranium. On the eve of the December 1 election it was predicted that Hawke would increase his majority in the lower chamber from 25 to 48 seats. A day later that hope was shattered. In an enlarged parliament (it has gone from

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125 to 148 seats) he now holds a diminished, 18- to twenty-seat lead over Liberal Party leader Andrew Peacock. Two factors may have contributed to the unexpected results. 1) Hawke's move toward the center has alienated the militant left wing of his party, and the leftists may have stayed home in droves (breakdowns of the turnout are not yet available). 2) The new Nuclear Disarmament Party may have skimmed off enough votes in closely contested districts to tip them into the (conservative) Liberal Party camp. The question now is: Will Bob Hawke take this as a sign that he must move left to consolidate his position within his party, or will he stay the course that has made Australia's the fastest-growing economy in the world?

☐ Five years ago, liberal opinion predicted that Afghanistan would be "the Soviets' Vietnam." How could that be, without a free press and the freedom of opposition that liberalism also prescribes? If independent institutions and social formations are essential to effective opposition, then a polity that crushes them will be spared the costs that eventually drove the United States out of Vietnam. So it would seem, and so it is proving in the Soviet Union, where the *New York Times* reports that public opinion solidly backs the boys in Afghanistan in their struggle against "American-inspired aggression." One scholar there privately told the *Times*: "More or less, it's a popular war. People say: 'Aha, the Americans want to grab Afghanistan. We'll show them.'" A society that has only *Pravda* may be less blessed than a society that has the *Times*, but it enjoys a strategic advantage.

☐ In *To Reclaim a Legacy*, a report concerning the situation in higher education, William Bennett, chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, continues his struggle on behalf of the intellectual substance of Western civilization, and he may be making some headway. The report emerged from the reflections of a panel of 31 educators and intellectuals, and it concludes that our colleges and universities fail to give students "an adequate education in the culture and civilization of which they are members." The facts are of course scandalous, but not surprising. "A student can obtain a bachelor's degree from 75 per cent of all American colleges and universities without having studied European history, from 72 per cent without having studied American literature or history, and from 86 per cent without having studied the civilizations of classical Greece and Rome." Hi, there. I'm Dean Boom Boom. Welcome to Women's Studies VII.

☐ A principal Soviet objective in "arms-control" talks will be spiking the Star Wars project, and that's because the Soviets don't think it will work and are concerned that we will waste defense dollars on it.

☐ Mr. Ed Schwartz was chairing a late meeting about Philadelphia's transit system, temporarily disrupted by a bridge closure. So he took a city trolley home, claiming later that he did it to see what the average commuter goes through. Which is how he happened to be mugged when he got off the trolley. "You're dealing with a city councilman," he told the muggers, pulling rank. "Are you sure you want to go through with this?" Wholly unimpressed, the muggers pushed a gun into Mr. Schwartz's cheek and relieved him of his wallet. "Ordinarily, I'd take a cab home," he said afterward.

☐ John W. Hinckley has offered the suggestion that he be traded to the Soviet Union for Andrei Sakharov. Chernenko might approve the swap if he can get a picture of Jodie Foster flirting with the Pope.

☐ NASA, preparing to crash a Boeing 720 in the desert to test safety devices and ways to reduce fatalities, wished to fill the plane with mannequins wired into metering devices. The first batch of mannequins was already installed when a second batch, this time dark-colored mannequins, arrived (dark ones photograph better in auto-crash tests). Which left NASA with a segregated plane (dark mannequins in the rear?). Test postponed while NASA remedied history's first case of mannequinism, rearranging the mannequins into a sensitive, integrated seating plan. Whew! That was close!

☐ A liquor store is closing out Château Fritz champagne, and you thought it was all a dream?

The Test of Pragmatism

IN THE WAKE of the election, after all the posters have been torn down and the bumperstickers scraped off, is it possible to evaluate the White House pragmatists on their own terms? Did pragmatism, in fact, *work*?

These days, of course, "pragmatism" is generally a rhetorical forged passport for liberals. Afraid to avow their ideology openly, liberals profess only to be interested in making things "work." (Walter Mondale, early in the campaign, called himself a "pragmatic progressive.") So it has been with the White House pragmatists; though they are in most cases themselves conservatives, on issue after issue—taxes, spending, Social Security, arms talks—they have argued, out of timidity, subservience to accepted opinion, and lack of imagination, that things work only when they work the liberals' way. The pragmatists run their fingers along the perimeter of the conservative salient they are engaged to defend, and wherever they find a weak spot—they retreat. Their claim on Ronald Reagan has

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always been that, whatever their derelictions in principle, they do deliver. Pragmatism yields "victory." Do the election results bear them out?

Ronald Reagan won a splendid triumph, which became practically meaningless to everyone except fans of Trivial Pursuit the day after it occurred. The notion that he will somehow be able to draw on his statistics for political clout is absurd. (What he will be able to draw on is the qualities, personal and ideological, that ensured his victory—the very things, in other words, that are beyond the pragmatists' control.) The Senate result—a loss of two seats—was a configuration of local patterns long in evidence; *NR*'s Washington correspondent, for example, called it months ago. Potential Republican gains—in West Virginia, Nebraska, and Montana—shown in early exit polls withered as election night wore on. No pragmatist achievement there. And the House? The Republicans recouped 14 seats—a dozen fewer than they lost in 1982. Several seats were lost by hundreds of votes, or less. The damage went beyond the nose-count. Bright, articulate, principled young candidates—like Greg Hyatt in the 5th District of Massachusetts (see *NR*, Sept. 21)—went down in close races. They will now have to wait two years, for the traditionally tough second-term off-year election, or even four years if they hope to run again—by which time their liberal opponents will be that much more deeply entrenched. Reagan may be able to out-fox and out-talk Tip O'Neill's House; thanks to the tepid results, he will have to.

Richard Viguerie, on the *New York Times* Op-Ed page, suggested that the greyish congressional performance was traceable to the non-ideological, "feel-good" imagery of the Reagan campaign, which had the unintended effect of benefiting all incumbents. It is not necessary to adopt his analysis to recognize the problem. The results that mattered were not good enough; not as good as they could have been. Pragmatism failed.

The White House pragmatists do not fundamentally agree with Ronald Reagan, and they have not helped him. What claim can they have on his loyalty?

The Causes of War

In an address to the National Press Club, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger proposed to clarify the circumstances in which American combat troops might be sent abroad. He offered six "major tests," embodying three principles. Two of these principles were unremarkable; one, highly questionable.

Weinberger's first test requires that the occasion be "deemed vital to our national interest or that of our allies." The second test is a corollary of the first—when troops go in, they should go "wholeheartedly and with the clear intention of winning." The third and fourth tests concern the analysis of objectives, the matching of ends and means. We should have "clearly defined political and military objectives" which "we should know precisely how our forces can accomplish." The relationship between objectives and forces "must be continually reassessed."

Nothing to set the world on fire so far. It is dry and rather businesslike, as indeed much of war is dry and businesslike. Much of it—not all. The great commanders, though all their decisions could possibly be broken down into these steps, on occasion acted so rapidly—so decisively—that they seemed almost to proceed by intuition. How does *de l'audace, et encore de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace* translate into accomplishing a clearly defined objective?

In his fifth test, though, Weinberger gets into trouble. ". . . Before the U.S. commits combat forces abroad, there must be some reasonable assurance we will have the support of the American people and their elected representatives in the Congress." Weinberger and his speechwriters clearly have in mind the Vietnam years—the Chicago Convention, the campus uproar, McCarthy, Kennedy, McGovern: the long Tet Offensive of the home front.

This was not the military's fault; strictly speaking, it was none of its business. The rallying of public support is the task of the political leadership. But here Weinberger sets an impossible standard. The sine qua non of popular support is success. But if the mission is indeed "vital," then it has to be carried out, even at the risk of failure. Columnist William Safire characterized Weinberger's doctrine as, "Take a poll before we pull a trigger."

Not all wars are Grenada. If the Bolsheviks had thought so, they wouldn't be where they are today.

In Descending Order

Bees sting; turtles snap.
Nice girls get the clap.
Dogs bite; kittens claw.
Blind dates often paw.
I hate awful verse,
But Bob Packwood's worse.

W. H. von Dreele

Mulling It Over: The Regan Proposals

Conservatives have long awaited a simpler tax system with lower rates. But now that the Treasury Department has come up with one, some of us seem to be having second thoughts. Everyone can find

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something wrong with the Treasury plan: The top rate would remain too high, or too much of the burden would be shifted to business, or capital gains wouldn't be treated well enough.

There is merit in each of these objections: The question is what to do about them. One option is to abstain from the battle while the interests that benefit from the current system—from vacation-home owners to union leaders, from steel magnates to big-city mayors—march on Washington and deal the flat tax a decisive defeat. That would doom us to the current tax system for the next twenty years.

The other option is to accept the Treasury plan as a starting point for serious discussion. Consider what that plan would do. It would cut the top tax rate from 50 per cent to 35 per cent, with other sharp reductions down the line. The top business tax rate would drop from 46 to 33 per cent. Marginal rates, a crucial factor in stimulating or depressing work and productivity, would come down sharply for most taxpayers.

Equally important, the government would ease up on manipulating our behavior through the tax system. As Treasury says, "An ideal tax system would be as neutral as possible toward private decisions. Any deviation from this principle represents implicit endorsement of governmental intervention in the economy." At a stroke, a host of essentially regulatory programs, from the presidential-election checkoff fund to the solar-energy tax-credit provisions, would be wiped off the books. To get the IRS out of the business of such meddling would be to defang the biggest and most irresponsible of all federal regulatory agencies.

The removal of these distortions would have a big economic payoff. Government revenues would go up even as the actual burden experienced by the average taxpayer would go down.

Not only would indexing be kept, but sophisticated new provisions would keep inflation from pushing up taxes in such specific areas as interest income and capital gains. The current bias toward borrowing and against saving would be lessened. So would the bias against dividends, which encourages big companies to hoard their profits rather than recycle them to stockholders for use in new ventures.

Abolishing the state- and local-tax deduction would remove an unfair burden now felt by low-tax jurisdictions, and would virtually force states like New York and Michigan to cut their top-bracket rates—which is why Governor Cuomo is screaming. Since local taxes would finally be put on the same footing, in the eyes of the IRS, as user fees, "privatization" of government services would get a big boost. (It is possible to defend the state and local deduction on grounds of federalism, but most of its current defenders couldn't care less about federalism in other contexts.)

Compared with the leading congressional bills, Kemp-Kasten and Bradley-Gephardt, the Treasury plan is better in some respects, worse in others, but very similar in concept. That suggests that the constructive course is not to chide Treasury Secretary Regan for the plan's flaws, but to congratulate him for the political courage embodied in its overall thrust, and then to help the Administration make it even better.

Keep the Kettle Boiling

Pick up the bellows, mother;
It's chilly in the room.
Outside, progressives wager
A bust will kill the boom.
The Speaker drips saliva,
While in the musky caves
Mad Kennedys and Cuomos
Intone, "Recession saves."

W. H. VON DREELE

Defense Budget Dilemma

THE SIZE of the defense budget is emerging as the central issue in the Great Deficit Debate now raging in Washington. Scores of Republican senators and representatives are warning the President that projected growth rates in defense spending must be cut drastically; otherwise, they say, there is no hope of winning congressional cooperation in what is shaping up as the most tortuous budget process yet.

Veteran observers of Washington have no doubt that defense growth will be cut—the only real questions are by how much and by whom. The dilemma the Administration faces is this: If the budget the President submits to Congress in January calls for a high level of growth in defense, it will "poison the well" of congressional cooperation and trigger a legislative revolt over toeing the line on domestic spending. A high defense-budget request would rapidly unravel any prospect the Administration has of dominating the budget process politically. Congress would toss the President's budget out on its supply-sided ear and proceed to write its own budget, sparing no red ink in the process.

On the other hand, if the Administration comes to Congress with a more modest defense request—say, a 4 to 5 per cent increase—Congress would take that as the starting point from which to cut further. The resulting deep cuts would jeopardize the MX missile, the Strategic Defense Initiative, the manned-bomber program, numerous conventional programs, and the basic operational readiness of U.S. forces.

There is no painless way out of this dilemma, but, on balance, the best course would probably be for the Administration to request from Congress a modest

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increase in defense—no higher than 5 per cent real growth—and then to commit the full authority and weight of the White House to upholding that target level of growth. The President could thus seize the political initiative in the Great Deficit Debate and gain leverage over Congress for the domestic cuts he must propose.

Fortunately, the progress made since 1981 in restoring our military posture has somewhat mitigated the urgency of making high real increases in defense spending. Moreover, a 5 per cent expansion from a baseline defense budget that is much larger now than in 1981 would still net a hefty real increase in defense spending even if the rate of growth had slowed.

Some Administration spokesmen have voiced concern over cutting defense growth on the eve of arms-control talks with the USSR. But a worse signal to send would be that the President cannot control his own budget—which is what would happen if Congress turned a high defense request into an excuse for fiscal irresponsibility. In any event, the Kremlin probably focuses less on the actual percentage growth in U.S. defense spending than on the specific programs given priority.

The real challenge will be for the Administration to establish clear priorities in defense and uphold them vigorously, even as the inevitable cuts are being made. Top priority should be given to strategic nuclear modernization—without which even massive defense moneys spent on tanks and airplanes are devalued. The Strategic Defense Initiative should also be sustained in the face of a certain challenge. It happens to be the one program that is at all likely to motivate the Soviet leadership to talk seriously about arms reductions.

Onward For The House of Nehru

THOUGH HAILED as the world's largest democracy, India remains as well one of its most problematic, wracked by fiercely anti-democratic passions, which the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi exacerbated at least as much as she soothed and controlled them. The spectacle of her corpse being waltzed about New Delhi on a Soviet howitzer was a symbolic reminder of the darker side of the Gandhi legacy: the too-easy acquiescence in the possibilities afforded by *ententes cordiales* with the Soviet Union (Mrs. Gandhi refused to condemn the Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979; her father, Jawaharlal Nehru, waited a prudent two weeks before condemning the onslaught against Hungary in 1956); the congenital temptation to authoritarianism (dramatized convincingly during the "emergency" suspension of the constitution in 1975-77); and the drift toward an arrogant dynasticism, of which the unanimous election of Rajiv Gandhi, in an emergency cabinet meeting, is the most recent portent.

Although Indira Gandhi claimed to be neither pro-American nor pro-Soviet but simply "pro-Indian," one thing is obvious: Her instincts were essentially Brahman, authoritarian rather than democratic, her personality more a product of the colonial era that produced her than of the burgeoning culture characteristic of successfully emergent nations. As a unifier she was in some degree successful, as a modernizer not very—despite her interest in rocketry and atom-bomb technology. If at her death India remains not much changed fundamentally from what it was in 1947 when her father became its first prime minister, that is due in large part to the fact that over three generations the House of Nehru—which under the reluctant Rajiv may be in for rough weather now—hasn't changed its major assumptions much.

Black Power, 1984

CLARENCE PENDLETON, head of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, has accused the current black leadership of leading blacks into "another political Jonestown" in this year's election. Meanwhile, true to form, every prominent black politician around is currently sitting in at the South African Embassy to protest apartheid. None is sitting in at the Ethiopian Embassy to protest Communism and the Communist regime's use of famine as a weapon of subjugation (a tactic pioneered by Lenin).

It is astonishing what a regime can get away with by advertising itself as "progressive." The Ethiopian regime's enforced starvation of rebellious provinces has occasioned little criticism of the regime itself, or of its fanatical military spending; it recently blew more than $100 million observing its own tenth anniversary, an occasion capped by a gift from its Soviet patrons—a huge bust of Karl Marx. If the whites who rule blacks in South Africa were replaced by black Marxists who murdered them, there would be no protest, given the current trajectory, from America's black leadership. In the meantime, America, because it is "rich" (i.e., productive), is held to be metaphysically responsible for the Ethiopian famine and is expected to rush food to the latest victims of Marxism-Leninism.

Neoconservatives And the Jewish Vote

SOME COMMENTATORS—Sidney Blumenthal and Michael Kinsley of *The New Republic*, let's say—have advanced the thesis that the neoconservative movement got its comeuppance in the last election. At bottom their argument is a straw man. They seem to be

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saying that Irving Kristol and his brothers, mainly Jewish intellectuals, abandoned the traditional liberalism of their milieu and embraced a form of conservatism that didn't shock their former friends too severely, promised to "deliver" the Jewish vote for any halfway responsible conservative candidate, proceeded to whoop it up for Reagan, and came a cropper, because the Jews jumped ship in 1984.

Well. The little zigs and zags of life must be ingested as part of a greater design. Reagan got 32 per cent of the Jewish vote in 1984, slightly down from 39 per cent in 1980 (according to the *New York Times*). But the neoconservative movement has been gathering steam for ten years or so; and yet, in 1972, Richard Nixon got 37 per cent of the Jewish vote (according to NBC, as cited in Theodore White's books). Four years earlier, in 1968, Nixon got only 18 per cent of the Jewish vote. One could say that the Jewish vote for Republican presidential candidates has almost doubled since the neoconservative movement got under way. One could say that the Jewish vote declined between 1980 and 1984. One would be right both times. But is one justified in saying that the 1984 experience is evidence of the failure of Irving Kristol and his stalwart confreres?

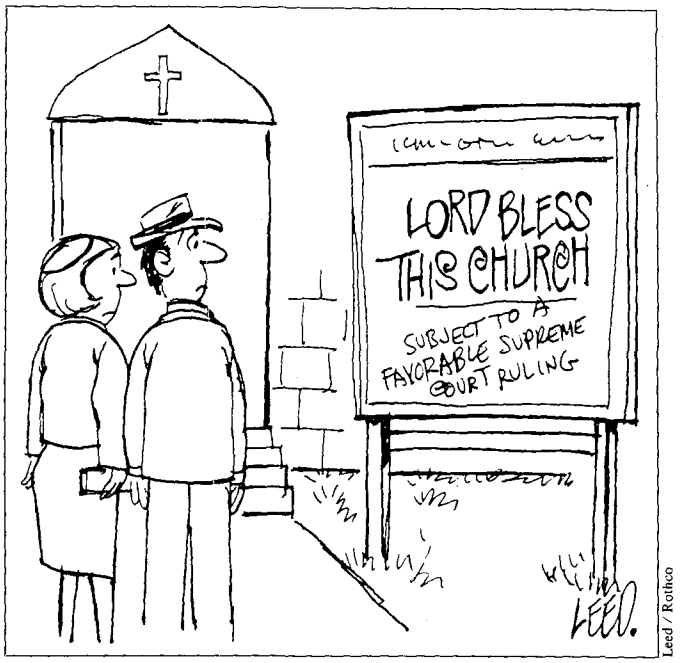
Hardly. After all, Kristol & Co. did not set out to bag a few hundred precincts and ship them to GOP headquarters. These are serious scholars, and the magazines they found and the articles they publish in those magazines are not popular journalism by any means but, more often than not, tough sledding. They set themselves up in business to change the climate of opinion. As far as can be said in such gossamer calculations, they have succeeded handsomely. Certainly the world knows they exist—a bit of attentiveness the academic world somehow forbore to express toward earlier prophets, such as Nock, Weaver, More.

Neoconservatives haven't "failed" to deliver the vote; they never tried. Even if they had tried and failed, they should keep plugging along. Twenty years ago their spiritual ancestors, backing Barry Goldwater, won only half a dozen states. That proved to be not the end but just the beginning.

The New Republic at Seventy

THE NEW REPUBLIC now celebrates its seventieth anniversary. While it has had its vicissitudes over the years it has always been an important cultural barometer, and at the present time it is one of the most interesting magazines in the United States.

A magazine often draws energy and power from contradiction. *Partisan Review*, in its creative period, struggled to synthesize aesthetic modernism with Marxism—an ultimately impossible task, but one generative of thought over an important span of years. *The New Republic* has had a variegated history, with which it



Leed / Rothco

endeavors—with honesty and honor—to come to terms in its seventieth-anniversary issue, a history associated with such names as Herbert Croly, Walter Lippmann, Edmund Wilson, Malcolm Cowley, Bruce Bliven, Henry Wallace, Michael Straight; a history in which progressivism elided into but also struggled with Stalinism.

The present phase of the magazine—and in many ways it represents a sharp break with its past—began in 1974 when Martin Peretz bought *The New Republic* from Gilbert Harrison. Under Peretz, the magazine has found a distinctive and energizing role: saving the Democratic Party from intellectual bankruptcy.

In the recent election, *The New Republic* endorsed Walter Mondale, as it had to do in order to remain within the Democratic Party conversation. In its post-election lead piece, however, entitled "Bad Ideas and Good," *The New Republic* took the Democratic Party to the woodshed.

The domestic-content bill, for example, is much favored by organized labor, passed the House on a wave of heavy Democratic support, was included in the San Francisco platform, and was of course endorsed by Mondale. *The New Republic* considers this protectionist idea expensive "nonsense" and tells the party it would do well to junk it.

The San Francisco platform also endorsed the idea of "comparable worth." The editors of *The New Republic* "shudder at this prospect," observing that "It is a superficially appealing idea that would create nightmares of regulation and litigation."

Mondale and virtually all of the other Democratic presidential hopefuls endorsed the "nuclear freeze." *The New Republic* characterizes the freeze as a notion "seized upon by politicians who know perfectly well it is a silly gimmick."

The New Republic urges the Democrats to dump

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the politics of "reverse discrimination," arguing that it has "poisoned the racial atmosphere and not served justice." Quotas are quotas, it says, and the fact is not changed when they are called goals or timetables. In federal contracts, these terms merely "enshrine reverse discrimination."

We could go on, but the point is made. It is this tension between *The New Republic* and its wayward, not to say besotted, Democratic partner that generates the exceptional interest of the magazine in its present phase.

Latin America Watch

IN RE THE peace negotiations in El Salvador: Forget them. President Duarte proceeds as if the rebel conflict were domestic. The rebels talk about two sovereignties. All *they* want is an end to U.S. aid to the government, territorial concessions to the guerrilla forces, and finally a merger of the two "nations," bound together by a nondemocratic constitution. . . . The Sandinistas are stepping up repression in Nicaragua. They are withholding exit visas for opposition leaders and businessmen, arresting Popular Social Christian Party leaders, and censoring the press vigorously. (Included in the censorship: news of the censorship, and its guidelines.) François Mitterrand continues his obstinate support of the Sandinistas: He gave them nearly $2 million in aid in November, supplementing the $15 million of last June. . . . Comecon (the Soviet bloc's Common Market) held an exposition in Mexico City in November to familiarize Mexicans with products being manufactured in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, East Germany, and Cuba. . . . Fidel Castro has announced that construction has begun on the first of three nuclear power plants to be completed in Cuba by the year 2000. The Soviets are also building a $200-million supertanker base in Matanzas Province.

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In "Notes & Asides" (Oct. 19), brother John (Buckley) [RIP] misses the point of Zeno's Paradox. No matter what X (the real objective) is, Zeno's point is that in order to get there one must first go half the distance. And to go from the midway point to X one must again travel half the distance, and so on *ad infinitum*. All of Zeno's paradoxes are based on the fact that a line is infinitely divisible. And therein lies the solution, which Henri Bergson points out in his book, *Matter and Memory* (translated by Nancy Margaret Paul and W. Scott Palmer. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1978, pp. 248 ff.). Human beings have an incurable propensity to plot human actions in terms of points, lines, and graphs, and then to conclude that they accurately represent the given human action. In short, a line drawn from point A to B (or X) has very little, if anything, to do with a person actually traveling from point A to B, precisely because a line is an abstraction and the movement is not. Or as Bergson puts it (p. 250): "While the line AB symbolizes the duration already lapsed of the movement from A to B already accomplished, it cannot, motionless, represent the movement in its accomplishment nor duration in its flow. And from the fact that this line is divisible into parts and that it ends in points, we cannot conclude either that the corresponding duration is composed of separate parts or that it is limited by instants."

Sincerely yours,
Father Mark McGovern
Assistant Professor of Philosophy
Cardinal Newman College
St. Louis, Mo.

☐ THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Bill:

Diem natalis felicem vobis desidero et uterque multos annos prospiciamus.

Nancy joins me in these sentiments and we pray that God will bless and keep you.

Sincerely,
Ronald Reagan

Dear Mr. President: *Fiat voluntas tua.* Thanks! Ever,
Bill

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Too frequently, of late, I have corresponded with your sister regarding subjects that I laughingly refer to as humorous. Tonight, though, I am mired in melancholy, and I must seek your support regarding a more serious matter.

Today, my President, via the press, hinted to me that on November the 6th he expects the political balance to shift sharply to the Republican side. I was forced, thereby, to reflect upon the probable result if such a trend were to continue over any great length of time, as more and more Republican programs manifestly succeeded. I reflected, too, upon the truth of the statement that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. I envisioned a distant imbalance of Mexican proportions.

Nor was my mood bettered when my eyes fell to another column's headline heralding the miraculous medical progress of Baby Fae. Others probably rejoiced upon reading of her dramatic improvement, but my depression had reached the depths that caused me

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to, perhaps overly, bewail the waste of the rest of the gallant baboon.

Now, from just such coincidences of seemingly unrelated events, unique thought processes emerge, and some good may come of it. In short, perhaps I have devised a way to preserve the rough parity of the two-party system in the United States.

Why not, I asked, legally empower the national Democratic Party to organize a corps consisting of unemployed wrestlers and defensive football linemen, eminent brain surgeons, and the millions of proprietors of our nation's proud abortion clinics? (We could, perhaps, label the conglomerate "The D Team.") Then, as the imbalance approached critical mass, additionally empower them to snatch citizens, at random, from the streets, and quickly, under the most sterile of conditions, implant into each the preserved brain of a baboon. If this were done, I believe we can foresee which political party might be the choice of such hybrid voters. (Any occasional deviant would probably be suffering from some side effect of his surgery, all of which we could lump under the heading of Weicker Syndrome or some such generality.)

I believe if such a bold plan is placed at the ready against the time when reason triumphs to the point that the Democratic Party nearly disappears, and is then quickly put into action . . . well, I guess you can see the possibilities.

Depressing, isn't it?

Hopefully, helpfully, cordially,
"Phant"
(The Innovative Phantom)
6408 20th Street
Tampa, Fla. 33610

Dear Phant: I think your suggestion tremendous, and am forwarding it immediately to the White House, Tip O'Neill, Bob Dole, and the director of the Smithsonian. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Bill:

Mr. Arthur L. Smith has it wrong ["Notes & Asides," Nov. 16]. The answer to the question, How many liberals does it take to change a light bulb? is not: Six; one to screw it in, and five to write the environmental-impact statement. Rather, it is: Six; five to screw it in, and one to screw it up.

Affectionately,
Reid
[F. R. Buckley]

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

With all the folderol that abounded in the political campaign in the area of religion in politics I quote from our *New Union Prayer Book*, published by the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Page 354, under prayers for our nation and rulers:

> We pray for all who hold positions of leadership and responsibility in our national life. Let your blessing rest upon them and *make them responsive to your will*, so that our nation may be to the world an example of justice and compassion.

Any comments?

Sincerely,
Dave Margolis
Cleveland Heights, Ohio

P.S.: The underlining is mine, of course.

Dear Mr. Margolis: Many thanks, and very convincing. Glad you straightened out the business of the underlining. At first I thought it was Moses'. Cordially,
—WFB

"It's a miracle that you escaped alive, Regan!"

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Q. Why is William Rusher's new book, *The Rise of the Right*, a *must* for your permanent library (not to mention one you'll want your kids to read)?

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You know Rusher as *National Review*'s longtime publisher, prolific author, TV personality, newspaper columnist, and speaker. But behind his prodigious public performance he's been hard at work (for more than 30 years!) instructing a generation of conservatives—from old pros to the *new* generation—in the art of successful politics.

Now he tells the whole story, and it's fascinating stuff, as you'll see for yourself from the first page—his vivid description of the 1950s will remind you that, for conservatives, there seemed little hope of displacing liberalism's dominance of *both* political parties. That was when Rusher and a small band of dedicated colleagues began putting together the political network that would not only launch a bold attempt to capture the Republican Party but *succeed* in an amazingly short time!

It's all in this new book, and if anyone doubts how *good* it is, listen to what Barry Goldwater himself wrote to Rusher just after publication: "I read it completely last night . . . I couldn't put it down . . . I don't think there is anything in the entire book that I would disagree with or, if I did, to any great extent." *Some* praise from one of the principal characters in a story that spares no details about the many conflicts and misunderstandings—personal and political—that inevitably happened along the road to victory.

As we say, here is a book you will want to *own* yourself, to have handy in the years ahead. If *you* lived through it all, you'll find *The Rise of the Right* the perfect How It Really Was record (you'll want your children to read it too!). If you are a younger conservative, it's a one-volume guide to one of the most remarkable political turn-arounds in our history.

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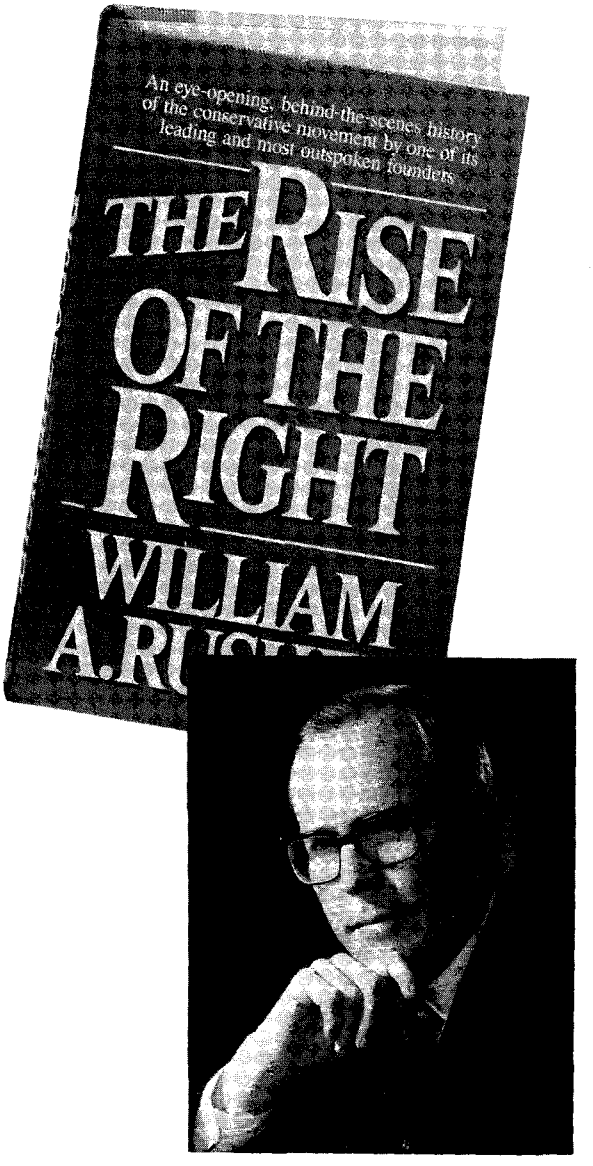
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THE EVANGELICAL SURGE

"THE GUYS that should have gotten more credit out of this election and haven't," notes a well-placed Hill Reaganite, "are the evangelicals. Look at Texas or North Carolina or Georgia or Pennsylvania. You've got to be amazed at what they did for us this year, yet no one's noticing it."

Take Texas. The Lone Star State went 64 to 36 per cent for Reagan, with conservative Republican Phil Gramm wiping out liberal Democrat Lloyd Doggett 59 to 41 per cent for the Senate. This Reagan/Gramm combo, aided by a solid evangelical effort, resulted in historic Republican gains in Texas. Four Democratic House seats fell to the GOP. Sheriff, constable, and county-courthouse seats went to Republicans for the first time, including some Republican Hispanics. One evangelical organization, *Christian Voice*, printed 2.5 million copies of voting records —600,000 of them bilingual—which hauled the liberalism of many Democratic officeholders out of the closet for the first time. The miracle victory of Republican Joe Barton in Gramm's old yellow-dog Democratic 6th District was largely the work of *Christian Voice*.

In North Carolina, where Jesse Helms won a tough contest for reelection and three House seats moved from the Democratic to the Republican column, there was no big Reagan undertow as there was in Texas. "Evangelicals made the difference," a member of the North Carolina Board of Elections told me. "They went out and registered 150,000 voters, picked them up in church vans, and took them to the polls."

Georgia is another case in point. Five-term Democratic Congressman Elliott Levitas was defeated 53 to 47 per cent by Republican newcomer Pat Swindall in the 4th District, just outside Atlanta—middle- and lower-middle-class suburbia, where evangelicals are especially strong. Nor was it only the Bible Belt that felt the fundamentalist impact. Republican Bob Walker's congressional seat in Pennsylvania's Lancaster County, for example, while indubitably secure, nevertheless showed the power of the evangelicals, with Walker winning 76 to 24 per cent.

When conservatives chose to ignore the evangelicals, they paid for it—or so claims the American Coalition for Traditional Values (ACTV), a collection of prominent evangelical television preachers. Roger Jepsen of Iowa won his 1978 Senate race by courting the religious vote, but in 1984, after keeping the evangelicals out, he was zapped 56 to 44 per cent by Tom Harkin, a Mondale clone. In California's 36th District, Republican John Paul Stark lost to Democrat George Brown by only eight points in 1982, a recession year. In 1984, a boom year, after he cut his ties to the evangelicals, he lost by 14 points.

ACTV includes TV preachers Jimmy Swaggert, James Kennedy, and Jerry Falwell, plus activists Tim LaHaye and Gary Jarmin. Meticulously organized and disciplined, ACTV registered an alleged two million new voters (exaggerated, probably, but even one million would be a minor miracle), operated phone banks, and contacted 100,000 clergy. "Even Democratic political consultants give them a lot of credit for political savvy," says a Democratic insider. They also credit Paul Weyrich, director of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, as the one who did the most to join the conservative movement to the evangelical movement, even though that alliance has now moved beyond him. Curiously, Jerry Falwell did not have much pull in his home district in Virginia, where liberal-to-moderate Democratic Congressman James Olin defeated Republican Ray Garland 52 to 48 per cent.

The prominence and success of the evangelicals' 1984 electioneering raise intriguing dilemmas for Republicans. "The Democrats' problems are apparent, and they are huge," says a White House political operative. "But Republicans have their problems too—nice problems, to be sure, but problems," he says wryly, referring to the quandary George Bush and Jack Kemp, the two GOP presidential front-runners for 1988, are in over how to handle the evangelicals. Do they woo them, and run the risk of alienating the baby-boomers? An important subset of the boomers, born between 1945 and 1960, is the Yumpies (young upwardly mobile professionals), with three to four years of college and earning over $20,000 annually. Neither Bush nor Kemp has the talent or skill of Ronald Reagan in getting both evangelicals and boomers to support him simultaneously.

LIBERALS TEND to scorn talk of a baby-boom conversion to Republicanism. "The social conservatism of the New Right will scare off socially libertarian youth," claims a liberal congressman. This is nonsense. After four years of Ronald Reagan, Americans haven't found the sounded alarums ringing true, or the raised specters taking flesh. No Elmer Gantrys or Mrs. Grundys are putting a crimp in their hedonistic lifestyle, despite the liberals' warnings.

So maybe the problems of embracing both constituencies at the same time are overstated. In any event, finessing is no answer: Both groups are too formidable, numerically and politically. And of the two prospective candidates, Bush and Kemp, the latter probably looks more comfortable to the fundamentalists, at least for now. The question is, Will Jack (or George) say their kinds of things, stress their kinds of values, attend their kinds of events? Evangelicals won't give anybody a free ride. □

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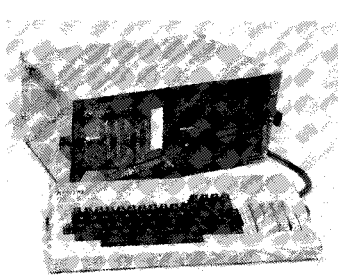

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GREENS AGAINST THE WEST

WEST GERMANY'S formerly stable parliamentary democracy, long thought to be developing toward a two-party system, has in the last few years witnessed the entry of the Greens, a radical association of disparate elements—environmentalism, feminism, pacifism, and general discontent. Originating from local "Citizens' Initiatives" that addressed grass-roots issues, they rode to power on a wave of anti-Americanism and social despair, overcoming the barriers designed to keep small parties from gaining political influence. After notable successes in state elections, the Greens gained over 5 per cent of the vote in the 1983 federal elections and entered the Bundestag. Contrary to widely held expectations, the Greens have shown considerable staying power. Recent data from the Allensbach Institute strongly suggest that they will continue to do well.

The Greens received widespread coverage in the American media during the debates—and the occasionally violent protests—over missile deployment. Attention has faded since then, as a conservative government has seemed to be in firm command. But now that the governing coalition is crumbling, and the leftist opposition is likely to become the center of attention once again, it is only appropriate to take a new look at the German Left. It is a force to be reckoned with.

One often hears it argued that while environmentalism, regionalism, and neutralism may be stronger in West Germany than elsewhere, the phenomena are essentially the same all over. The Greens, however, are not simply part of the West's peace movement. First and foremost, they are Germans, which means that they can—and do—build on dubious traditions. It borders on bad taste to invoke anti-German clichés—irrationalism, self-pity, excessive craving for national unity, and the kind of comatose coziness called *Gemütlichkeit*—but it is impossible to understand the Greens without acknowledging the existence of these traditions and their re-emergence. A study of the Greens involves a study of the dark side of German history.

II.

The first three decades of the Federal Republic were characterized by a high degree of consensus about fundamentals. West Germany was reconstructed on the basis of two principles that came to be widely accepted. The first was firm membership in the Western Alliance. Chancellor Adenauer never doubted that his primary goal was to establish West Germany as a trustworthy partner of the Western democracies. The chief engineer of Germany's integration into the West, Adenauer knew this goal could only be achieved at the price of postponing German unification, perhaps indefinitely. He was willing to pay that price, while giving lip service to the idea of a united Germany. Faced with the choice between freedom and unity that has—tragically—dominated German history for the past two centuries, Adenauer chose freedom. The opposition Social Democrats, staunchly nationalist during the 1950s, also adopted his position in 1959.

The second principle was mass welfare and prosperity. Representative government had to be founded against the inclinations of the people; 12 years of Nazi indoctrination do not produce model democrats. The fact that a democratic America had been able to win a war against Hitler counted for a great deal; it may even have been the strongest single argument for democracy as far as the Germans were concerned. But more was needed. Prosperity became an instrument to make a people who had no democratic traditions susceptible to representative government. This was the deeper significance of Germany's celebrated *Wirtschaftswunder* ("economic miracle"). It both created a mass welfare state and stabilized the young democracy.

That stability seemed deceptively strong because 12 years of tyranny had temporarily discredited anti-Western sentiments in West Germany. The Germans decided to put their security into the hands of America and to give top priority to becoming wealthy. The source of Germany's present trouble is that these two decisions have simultaneously ceased to be uncontroversial.

Germany has experienced economic crises before, but never a crisis as long and severe as the present one. The recession of 1965-66, which coincided—but not by coincidence—with the rise of the student movement, was short-lived and moderate compared to the present troubles. The crisis of the Eighties is not just a cyclical downturn; it is structural. The costs of the welfare state are hitting home. The country lags far behind others in the develop-

Mr. Greve is a graduate student in government at Cornell University. He is writing his dissertation on the role of environmentalism in Germany and the United States.

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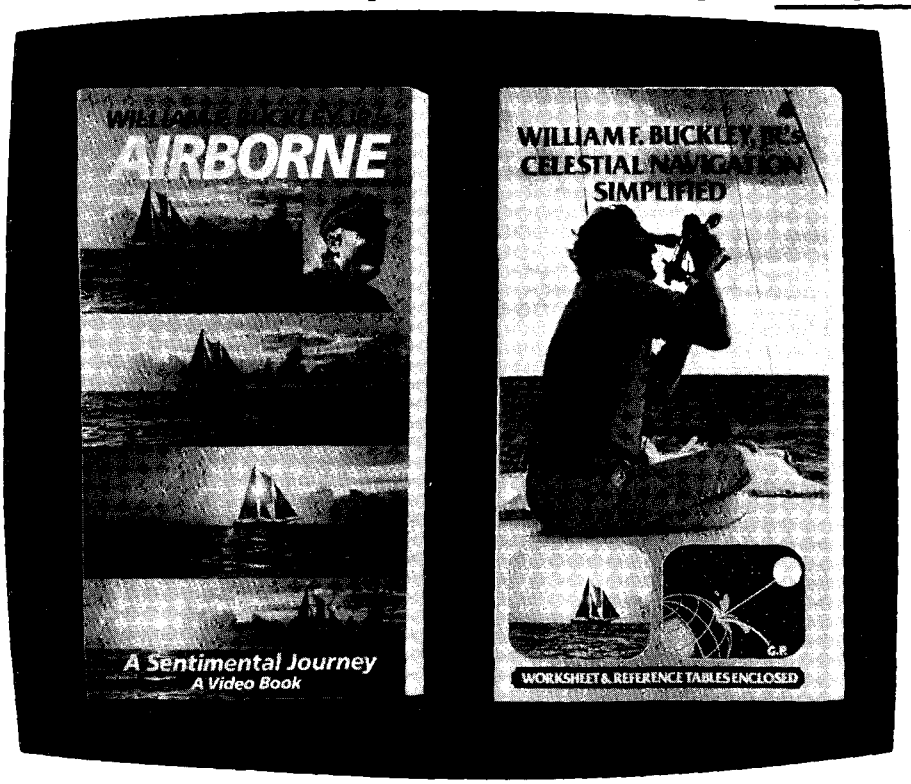

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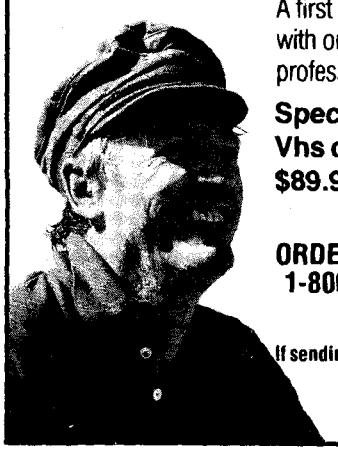

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ment of modern technologies. The younger generation is overeducated and underemployed; such people provide a ready pool for recruitment by the peace, disarmament, and reunification forces. Their resentment against parliamentary democracy goes so deep that it is by no means clear that a few positive experiences will overcome it.

From the start, the Federal Republic's alliance with the West has been contested on political and, as it were, philosophical grounds. However, one should not exaggerate the current movement's similarity with an earlier generation of protestors. The Greens and the peace movement refuse to accept what the earlier activists took for granted; namely, that a Western—meaning American—lifestyle deserves emulation. For those growing up during or shortly after the War, prosperity and freedom were respectable goals; those generations were free from the cultural pessimism that characterizes today's movement. That pessimism is a legacy of the Sixties. The students of the Sixties, however, did not tend to dwell on security issues; they felt that the Bonn "establishment" was Washington's puppet, and thus unlikely to pursue its own security policy. Not until the Greens hit the scene did a leftist organization successfully exploit tensions within NATO.

Germany has thus lived through periods of anti-Americanism without concurrent disagreement over security issues, and through disputes over security policy without concurrent anti-Americanism. It is now experiencing both, and at a time of serious economic troubles. That is what explains Germany's current political problems, and that is what makes them dangerous.

III.

Is today's German Left really hostile to the United States? The Greens themselves deny that they are anti-American: Too many Germans still associate America with CARE packages and good cigarettes; too many have had rewarding personal experiences with Americans. But while the German Left tends to refrain from expressing pure hatred of Americans, it makes no bones about being staunchly neutralist and nationalist. From this perspective, America and the Soviet Union seem equally inimical to peace and German unity. The target has come to be called "Vodka-Cola Imperialism." Almost nothing can be done about the vodka, so the Left fights Coca-Cola. Thus, the distinction between anti-Americanism and neutralism turns out to be almost entirely semantic, the main difference being that the neutralists claim to be almost as anti-Russian as they are anti-American.

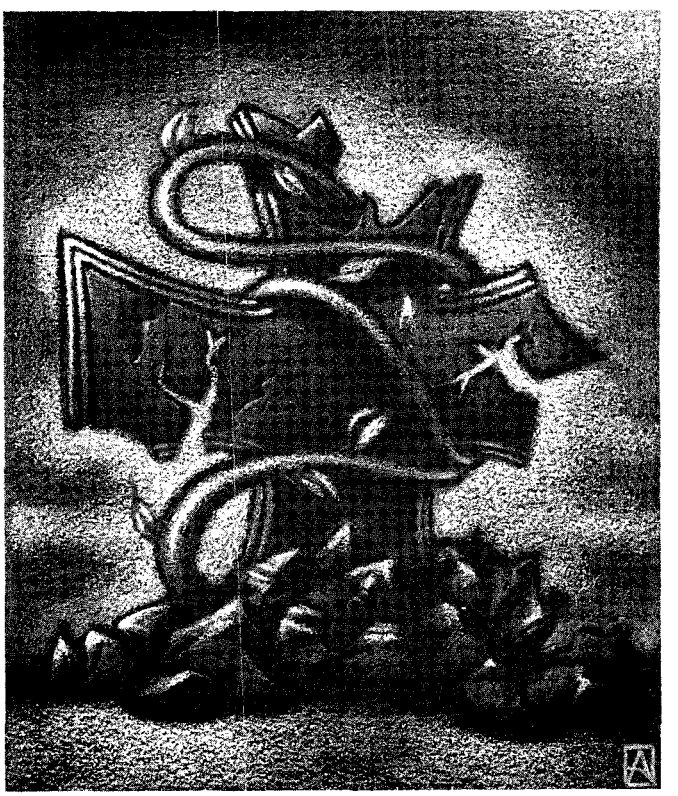
The most vocal advocate of the genuinely neutralist position is Gert Bastian, a member of the Bundestag and a former army general. In January of this year, Bastian left the Green Party, primarily because of its one-sided anti-Americanism, which he traced to Communist subversion. In publicizing the reason for his departure, Bastian mentioned the unmentionable. Greens had persistently denied the existence of Communist infiltration, and any assertion to the contrary was denounced as cold-war paranoia. But Bastian had the facts on his side, including the fact that the Greens joined other leftist organizations in the "Krefeld Forum," which had collected millions of signatures for a short statement in opposition to NATO. The World Peace Council, a Communist front, supports the Krefeld Forum. A whole range of overlapping memberships in various groups and direct financial contributions are the clearest indications of Soviet influence. And West Germany's Communist Party is openly sympathetic to the peace movement.

The feeling is mutual, especially since many high-ranking Greens are former members of overtly Communist organizations. Prominent among them is Jürgen Reents, who is also a member of the Bundestag. It was a Reents article arguing that the peace movement should maintain a one-sided strategy against the United States that triggered Bastian's outrage.

IV.

Bastian's charges stirred up a good deal of controversy at the time. Strange to say, however, the controversy does not seem to have done the Greens much harm. In the first place, as long as the Federal Republic remains a member of the Western Alliance, the differences between various degrees of anti-Americanism are much too subtle to get the Greens into serious trouble. In the second place, the Germans don't seem to perceive Communist subversion as dangerous; 15 years of Ostpolitik have left them with the impression of a benign Moscow and East Berlin. The Soviet Union scored an impressive victory when it prevented the deployment of the neutron bomb, and it has scored other victories since then. It did finally go too far when it advised the German electorate to vote against Helmut Kohl in March 1983; but the setback was not permanent.

In fact, the Russians and their Prussian comrades have become shrewder. During the months before the missile deployment, the East German regime behaved rather liberally toward its own dissenting youth. Nor did this change mean that the dissenters had grown more powerful: If Erich Honecker had wanted to crack down on them, he could have done so. He refrained because East German protests were aimed exclusively at West German public opinion. The plan worked; for many Germans the charge



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that the peace movement undermines Western morale and negotiating positions lost its plausibility when Honecker could point to his own protestors. True to form, *Der Spiegel* ran a cover story on the East German "Peace Movement." Much less coverage was given to the resumption of repression once the missiles were deployed.

Since then East Berlin has sometimes relied on predictable tricks. Honecker's speeches now contain routine references to common German interests, one German nation, and the like: "A nuclear-free Europe is, after all, the goal of all European peoples. We agree with this, in the name of the German people." That passage was quoted approvingly by *The Greens*, the official organ of the Green Party.

Since the Greens have inherited virtually every unsavory tradition of Germany's past, it comes as no surprise that their views bear some resemblance to the Nazis'

There is nothing bizarre about the Greens' nationalist leanings. Most people tend to associate nationalism with the political Right, but this isn't true of West Germany, where the Left has come close to enjoying a monopoly on nationalism for the better part of the country's history. In fact, nationalism fits in nicely with the Greens' neutralist views. Their theory of security in the nuclear age envisions the creation of a nuclear-free, united Germany and the crushing of Europe's military-bloc system. (This vision has been adopted by the Social Democrats as well.)

Honecker, in spite of his good will, does not have the power to take the first step toward reunification or disarmament, so the Greens want the arms race to be abolished by the West—unilaterally, as it were. For the period during which West Germany would be neutral while East Germany has not yet followed suit, the Greens have designed a strategy called "social defense," which

> means that West German society should be organized and reoriented—in the direction of civil courage, resistance, alternative and decentralized structures—[so] that it would be clear from the beginning to an aggressive foreign power that the attempt to occupy and dominate would bring such difficulties and burdens that the benefits in power and profits would not be worth the cost.

One may wonder whether the alternative and decentralized structures are to be modeled after those in existence in the nuclear-free zones of Afghanistan and Cambodia. One also wonders whether the Germans will consult the Poles, Hungarians, or Czechs about the costs certain foreign powers are willing to assume.

V.

The Greens oppose deterrence not because it is risky or futile, but because it results either in cold war or in cold peace, both unacceptable; the world needs warm peace. The Greens' advocacy is part of a mindset more readily identified than described. It is difficult to analyze the syndrome of irrationalism, cultural pessimism, and self-pity the Greens have inherited, but it can be illustrated.

Consider Wolf Biermann, poet and folk singer, a celebrated figure in Germany and on American campuses. In the mid-Seventies, Biermann was expelled from East Germany. He is now a prominent member of the West German peace movement. On a recent visit to Cornell University, Biermann gave a concert during which he stated:

> It is not enough to be in favor of peace, since everyone wants peace, including governments. Neither is it enough to be in favor of disarmament, since both the United States and the Soviet Union are for that as well. Things become provocative in a productive sense only when *unilateral* disarmament is advocated. The trouble is that we should have no illusions about the Soviets; they would attempt to destroy us the minute they were reasonably sure they could win.

Biermann is an atypical representative of the peace movement, having seen Russian tanks roll through Berlin, and he is honest enough to draw the necessary conclusions from that spectacle. Biermann concluded: "Therefore, I advocate unilateral disarmament wherever I go. It's time for some life-saving illogic."

Biermann is a poet, and one should not hold such irresponsibility against him too much. Indeed, perhaps he deserves gratitude for expressing the program of the peace movement in a single sentence—a call for an end to reason.

Irrationalism has a long history in Germany; with the Greens, it has blossomed alongside another form of Teutonic radicalism—a doomsday mentality. The Anglo-Saxon equivalent of this conviction holds that we are on the eve of destruction; the contention that annihilation is certain has been voiced by the British disarmament leader E. P. Thompson, who has articulated a theory called "exterminism as the last stage of civilization." The Greens admire this type of fatalism, but they are past the stage of predicting the end of the world. Strange to say, the certainty of imminent death is not the culmination of cultural pessimism. The high point was reached at the movement's biggest rally to date, when Erhard Eppler observed: "A people that admits this [i.e., the deployment of missiles] need not be killed; it is already dead." Eppler is not a character out of *Night of the Living Dead*, but one of Germany's prominent politicians, formerly a high-ranking member of the SPD.

Oddly enough, the Greens—to whom Eppler feels drawn, and whose hero he is—manage to combine their awareness of imminent death with a long-range view of politics. Petra Kelly, one of their spokesmen, recently submitted a criterion of legitimate policy: Act in such a way that you do not endanger the life of the seventh generation after you. One might point out that legislatures can't even calculate next year's budget, to say nothing of planning seven generations hence, but perhaps one should address the substance of Miss Kelly's arguments: Why, then, should we care about the seventh generation, as opposed to, say, the ninth? What are her sources?

The Navajo and the Hopi. These tribes, Miss Kelly explained, hold that the seventh generation warrants our attention since it is during its lifetime that the world may go under. The trees are dying even now; the time has come to act lest all else perish. Since legislative decisions need all available expertise, Miss Kelly dragged representatives of the Navajo and Hopi into a Bundestag session on mis-

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sile deployment. Unfortunately, ethnocentrism on the part of the delegates conspired with parliamentary procedure to keep the guests from being heard.

The reader may already have heard about the Hopi from *Against Method* by Paul Feyerabend, who argued that their rainmaking theory was as scientific as the special theory of relativity—small wonder he is worshipped by the German Left. Thanks to Miss Kelly, we now know that the Hopi have a theory about future world developments that is as scientific as, well, the reports of the Club of Rome. One always suspected as much. Meanwhile, as long as we have no criterion for distinguishing between good and bad theories about the end of the world and our responsibilities, some may choose to stick with the superstition called reason.

VI.

The Greens combine leftist leanings with despair and irrationalism. However, self-pity prevents their despair from turning into cynicism. Thus, they confront reality with a utopian vision of community. The same mindset has long been identified with fascism; irrationalism and utopianism rarely result in democratic attitudes. And since the Greens have inherited virtually every unsavory tradition of Germany's past, it comes as no surprise that their views bear some resemblance to the Nazis'.

In general, the specter of fascism is once again haunting Germany. Ever since Hegel, Germans have had a taste for the irony of history; thus, last year's fiftieth anniversary of the Nazi seizure of power came in handy. That fateful year of 1933 was readily invoked by the whole political spectrum.

The high point of this style of discourse was reached when the Bundestag devoted two days of debate to the question of the Pershing II and cruise missiles. The Greens declared that the vote concerning deployment had the same significance as the decision over the *Ermächtigungsgesetz*, the law by which the Reichstag gave dictatorial powers to Hitler.

Germany is by no means lost. But it may very well be lost if it fails to recognize the forces that have come to the fore in West German politics

Most Greens are 35 or under. Few have ever seen a genuine fascist—with the exception of a former Stormtrooper they accidentally nominated for legislative office. But the Greens' persistent insinuations that they are the victims of a quasi-fascist conspiracy do not stem simply from ignorance and self-pity. The more often the word "fascism" is bandied about, the less forceful it becomes. The Greens therefore use it on all possible occasions, with the consequence that even meaningful applications of the term appear propagandistic.

This strategy has brought about the intended effect. During the missile debate, for example, the Christian Democrats repeatedly interrupted the Greens' speakers with remarks like, "That's a Nazi speech!" A storm of protest ensued in the press, disgust that anyone could doubt the motives of people of such good intentions. But the Greens do have problems with democracy; in fact, they have the same problems the Nazis had, and they use the arguments the Nazis made fashionable in 1933.

During the November debate, thousands of protestors tried to intrude into the "ban mile" around the Bundestag, the area that had been declared off limits. The police fought back; the confrontation turned violent. CDU delegates had asserted that an elected body should not bow to "pressure from the streets," to which Bastian replied:

> The German Bundestag is not debating today under pressure from the streets, as has been falsely asserted here a number of times. It is debating in the face of thousands of concerned citizens whose presence in the ban mile is meant to remind the delegates to be aware of the importance of their decision. To call such an admonition undemocratic, and to denounce it as "pressure from the streets," is inadmissible. [Interruptions have been omitted.]

Consider the term "inadmissible." Bastian presumes to know what is admissible and what is not. The suggestion that his friends, besides breaking half a dozen laws, were "pressuring" the legislature is not just bad style or unwarranted. It cannot be *mentioned.*

This kind of self-righteousness characterizes many pronouncements by the Greens. Referring to a legislative session in honor of war victims, Petra Kelly told Chancellor Kohl: "Those who moaned in this House, Mr. Kohl, *had no right to moan*, for they are now killing by means of the threats in their heads and souls." (Emphasis added.)

To return to Bastian's statement, he takes pains to refute the idea of "pressure from the streets." That expression might remind Germans of SA troops who rampaged through the streets in 1933 to back Nazi delegates in the Reichstag. The latter were then wearing the same uniforms as their friends in the streets who were trashing Jewish stores. Today, delegates wear no uniforms, but they have been known to battle in the streets, then enter the Bundestag with wet clothes (having tussled with a water cannon) and declare that *all* the delegates should go out there to arrive at a democratic decision. Evidently these representatives are altogether unconcerned with law, with representative government, with the freedom of others (those who voted CDU, for example), with domestic tranquillity, with the common good. Instead, they raise diffuse claims about priorities, claims that would justify virtually anything except the legislature's right to make political decisions.

It was left to another delegate of the Greens, Mrs. Marieluise Beck-Oberdorf, to elaborate on this theme. Addressing the Christian Democrats, she said:

> This day will mark a break. No longer will you be able to disguise the fact that concerning the deployment question, you are in the minority—a dangerous minority that drives the citizenry into terror and panic. As a result, you, as the government, have forfeited the right to demand loyalty. A government that denies the people the right to vote on this question of life and death has lost the right to judge over people's resistance. For what should people do here, if you block all democratic paths? I repeat: If you block all democratic paths—and that is so, since the decision of the sixth of March was not a decision about deployment—then it is you who force people in this country into resistance.

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The decision to which she refers was the general election of 1983. At the time, most public-opinion polls indicated that roughly two-thirds of the population would rather not have missiles in the country, but most people also did not think the question of primary importance. The Christian Democrats' position on deployment was well known at election time; it had been an issue of public debate for more than two years. Such factual background can be helpful in assessing the merits of Mrs. Beck-Oberdorf's theory of democracy.

Nor did her speech merely represent an occasional lapse. The Greens have repeatedly asserted that a federal election is not a popular vote, that to interpret it as such represents a denial of democratic rights, and that decisions of life and death cannot be decided legitimately by the Bundestag at all. One wonders whether the Greens know what tradition they are invoking. The idea that some decisions have to be made in the streets did not originate with the Nazis, but it was an important element of the National Socialist program. Not unlike the Nazis, the Greens have made up their minds that the question of whether to pursue political goals in the streets or in parliament is one of efficacy, not of democratic theory.

The Greens, to be sure, assert that it's not *they* who denigrate the legislature. They argue that parliament's present function is simply to affirm what has been demanded by the United States, that Germany is not sovereign but a zone of American occupation. One should remember what use the Nazis made of the humiliating conditions of the Versailles Treaty.

VII.

According to the conventional wisdom, the Greens may fall because of their very triumphs. With success come power and responsibility, which fundamentalist movements tend to regard as obstacles to integrity and purity. The need to organize and channel political power does present the Greens with a dilemma. They must decide whether they want to maintain their character as a spontaneous movement that happens to be represented in the Bundestag or whether they want to become a genuine party.

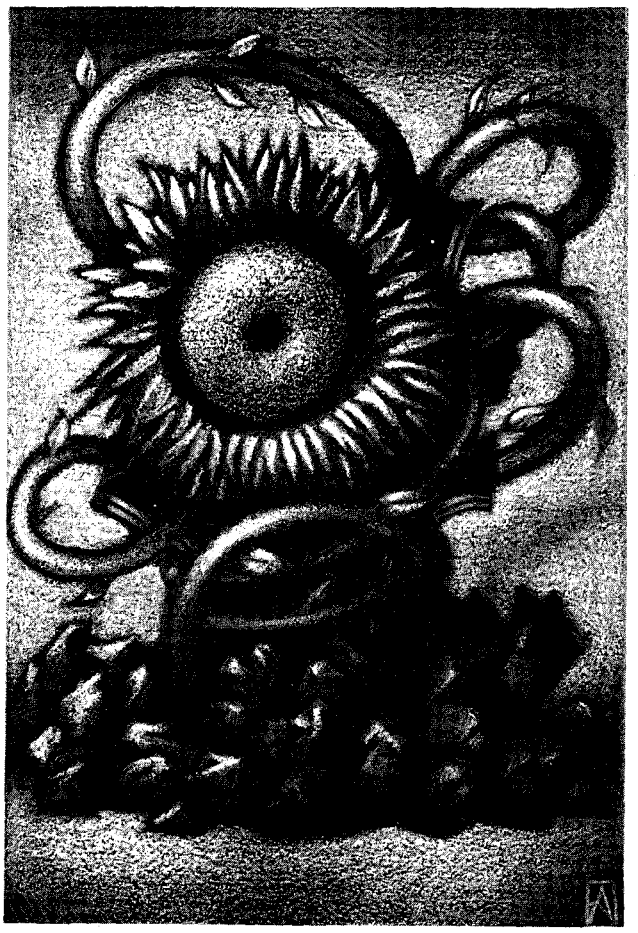
This tension between movement and party, between broad appeal and the need for cohesion, explains the Greens' wavering stance on a number of issues. They have committed themselves to rotating delegates in the course of legislative periods in order to stay in close contact with their grass-roots base. But, so far, any attempts to implement this decision have met with resistance on the part of the delegates; political haggling and infighting have resulted. Equally difficult to resolve is the question of whether to form coalition governments with the SPD in states where the CDU falls short of an absolute majority. On substantive political issues, the Greens are split between pragmatists and radicals. Since vital questions must be decided one way or another, they are developing from an amorphous collection of disparate interests into a party with two wings.

Such an argument has merit but it may be on its way to becoming false. The Greens in Hesse are probably as divided as any of their state party organizations, yet they managed to push the SPD into a coalition agreement almost entirely on their own terms. And the argument that the Greens will collapse because of their unresolved internal disputes presupposes that they can be maneuvered into situations that demand hard choices. Even if such a strategy should occasionally succeed, it will not put an end to the Greens, who can always rely on a group of leaders who know how to gloss over differences. Quite a number of them have already proved themselves expert at avoiding situations that would force the Greens to make irreversible decisions one way or another.

The supporters of the Greens are young, educated, and well informed. They have a high level of tolerance for internal conflict. Few of them will realign with the SPD, and since they put a high premium on political participation, they will continue to cherish the idea of having an organization of their own.

VIII.

Recently, the West Germans have come to refer to their country as the Bonn Republic, a term that not only evokes the Weimar analogy but suggests that the Federal Republic's moment in the sun has passed. When the end is near, one looks back to the beginnings. The temptation to identify a historical period by the place of its birth arises when people feel that the period is nearly over. One should take care, to be sure, not to adopt the Greens' own Spenglerian outlook; Germany is by no means lost. But it may very well be lost if it fails to recognize the forces that have come to the fore in West German politics. The Greens have raised a question that was thought to be settled: whether Germany wants to be part of the West or not. The Federal Republic is reluctant to face that question again. It can no longer afford such reluctance. □



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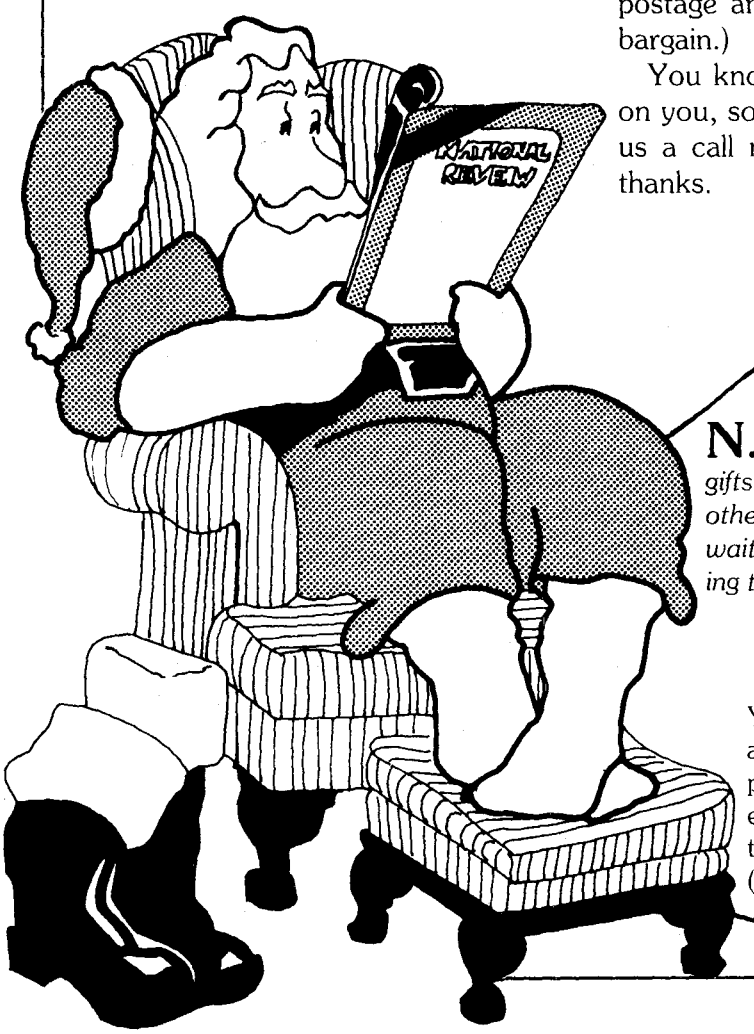

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THE ASSAULT ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

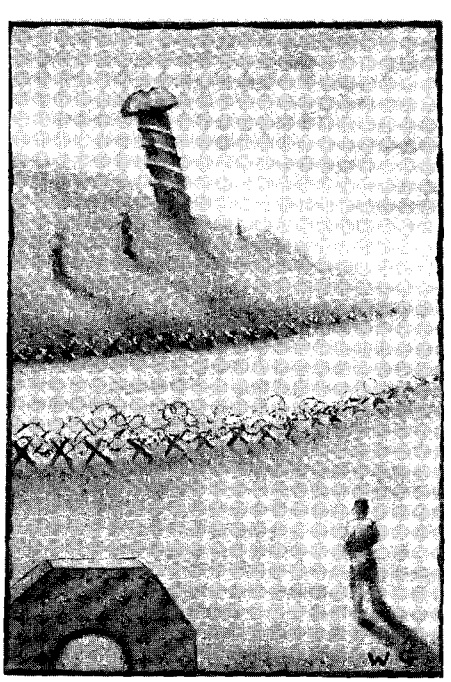
THE OPEN international trading system that has developed since the end of World War II is under assault at home and abroad, by a fascinating combination of attackers. At home every type of special interest is attempting to stem the tide of imports, especially from the developing nations, while overseas the efforts of private enterprise to participate in the development of poorer countries are being met with a crescendo of attacks and a burst of regulation aimed at the so-called imperialist, greedy, profit-seeking multinational corporations. The efforts of the protectionists at home and of the new breed of regulators abroad undermine the prospects for raising the living standards of the poorer countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, while simultaneously reducing the prosperity of the developed nations.

Through most of the twentieth century, the United States has played a leadership role in developing the system of world trade (although it must be said that during the 1930s, the United States was one of the many countries that followed a "beggar-thy-neighbor" trade policy, which contributed substantially to the worldwide Depression). After World War II, America embarked on a program of reciprocal trade agreements. Initially arranged bilaterally, they evolved into the effective multilateral trading system of the postwar years, which broke down many of the historical barriers to world trade. An especially fine example occurred in the 1960s. The acceleration of world trade and economic growth in that decade followed a sharp and mutual reduction in tariff barriers, and it contributed to lower prices for consumers. We continue to reap benefits from the policies initiated in those years.

Our own economic history provides earlier examples of the benefits of an open economy. This country began as a trading nation. If the concept of "gross national product" had existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, people would have pointed to the United States as one of the more open economies in the world, as measured by the share of GNP involved in foreign trade, even though tariff debates were common throughout the nineteenth century.

Around the turn of the last century the dynamics of the American economy shifted. Exports and imports came to represent smaller shares of GNP and stabilized at the new levels. U.S. investment abroad increased, gradually transforming us from an international debtor into a world creditor. Increasingly, we became a self-sufficient economy. Only in the last twenty years has the international sector once again begun to increase the role it plays in our economy.

Foreign trade is now an important element in U.S. business and employment. Exports and imports of goods and services each now represent more than 12 per cent of our gross national product. Twenty years ago, exports represented less than 6 per cent of GNP; imports, less than 5 per cent. Much of this shift has occurred in the past decade, when imports and exports as a share of GNP have doubled.



THE CASE for free trade is rooted in a basic economic law: the principle of comparative advantage, which holds that total economic welfare will be enhanced if each nation specializes in the production of items that it can produce, in relative terms, most efficiently. This, of course, is an important case of Adam Smith's more general point concerning the advantages of the specialization of labor.

We should note that there is a close, though not generally appreciated, connection between imports and exports. A strong trade position requires both a high volume of imports and a high volume of exports. In fact, the only way, in the long run, to increase a country's exports is to increase its imports. U.S. exporters need to find foreign buyers with the dollars necessary to buy their goods and services. In general, these dollars are obtained when Americans import and pay for foreign goods and services. Thus it follows that restrictions on imports will result in fewer dollars in the hands of those in other countries who might want to buy our wheat, aircraft, chemicals, or machinery—unless,

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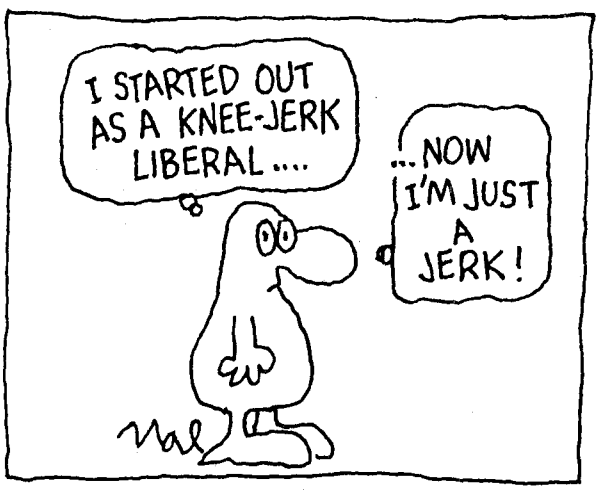
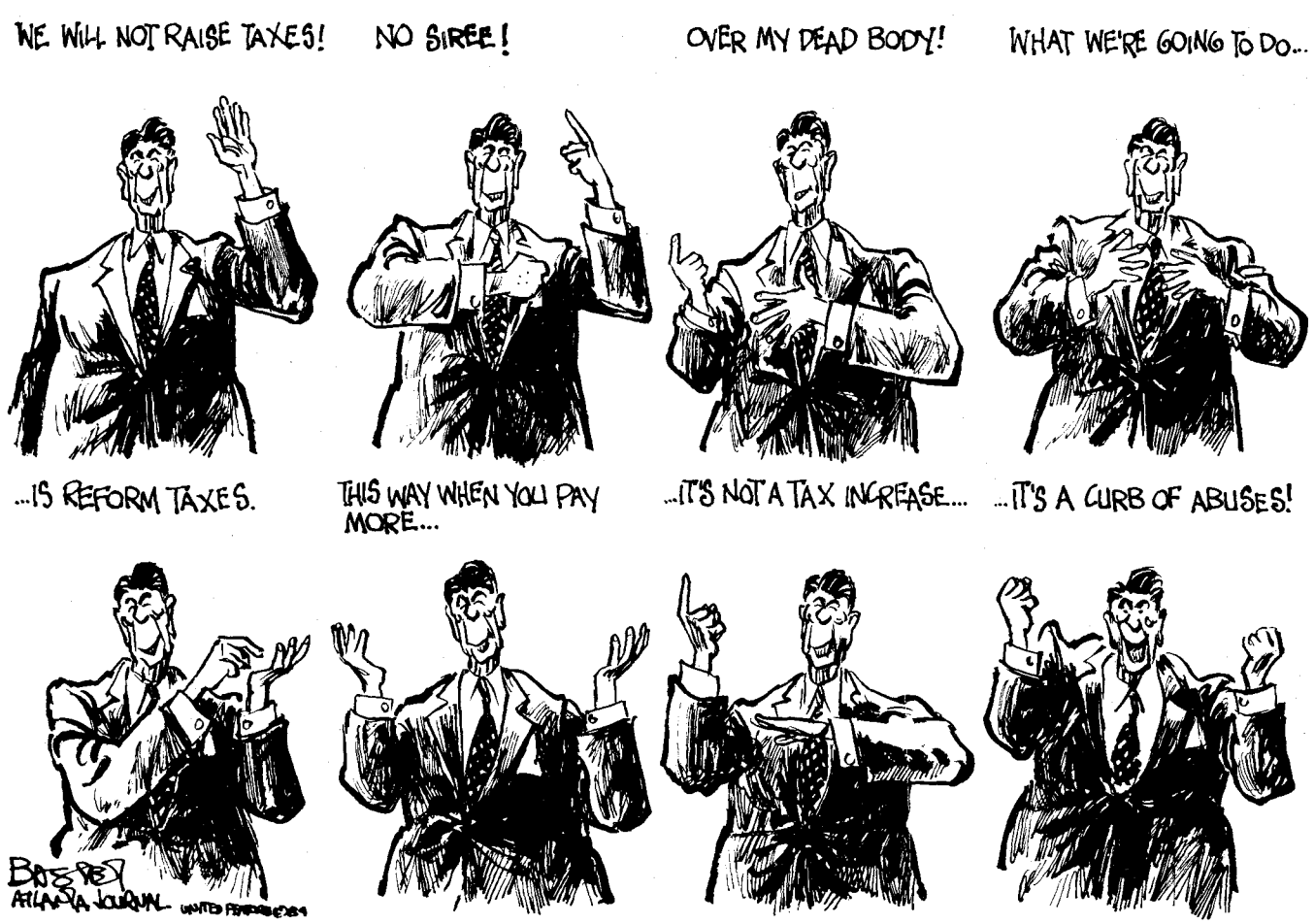


Specters at the Reassessment

Like Grendel's mother in her swampy fen
As Beowulf prepares his snickersnee,
The Democratic Party once again
Sifts through the post-electoral debris.
The candidates, vacationing at sea,
Reflect upon the keening of the polls,
Though still afflicted by a jerking knee
Whenever Jesse whispers, "Welfare rolls."
Meanwhile, the pros, half deafened by the tolls
From bells that would have driven Poe insane,
Are cautiously assessing party goals
More suitable for running with Tom Paine.
Unfortunately, Mario and Ted
Both stalk the meeting like the walking dead.

W. H. VON DREELE


WE WILL NOT RAISE TAXES!
...IS REFORM TAXES.
NO SIREE!
THIS WAY WHEN YOU PAY MORE...
OVER MY DEAD BODY!
...IT'S NOT A TAX INCREASE...
WHAT WE'RE GOING TO DO...
...IT'S A CURB OF ABUSES!

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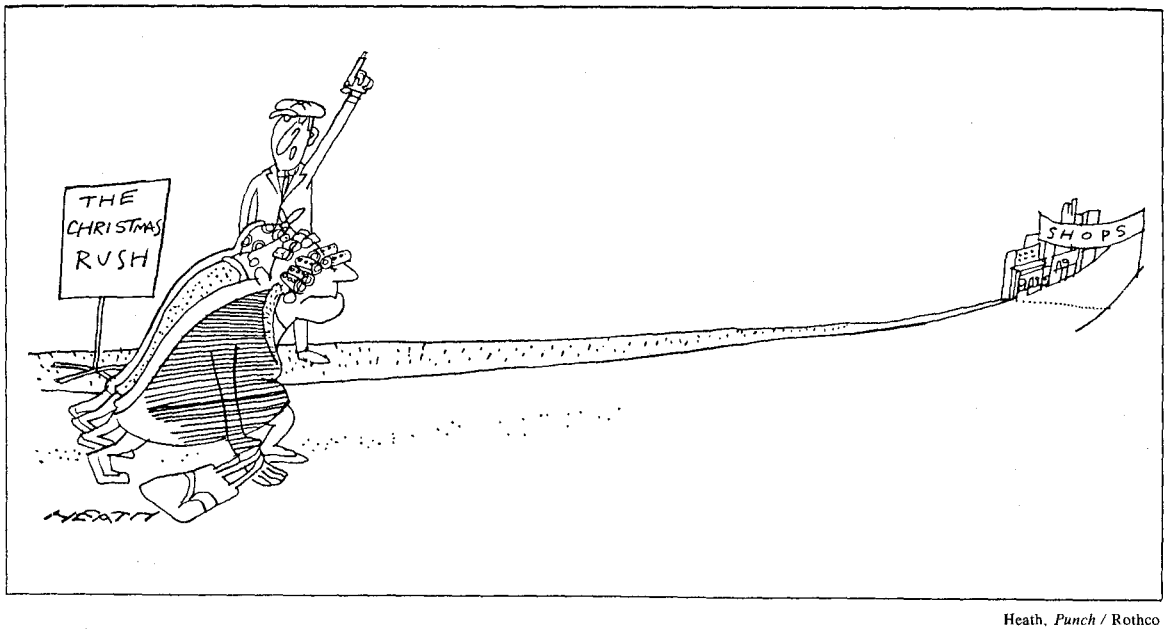

Heath, *Punch* / Rothco

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of course, we make up the difference by loans or transfer payments to foreigners.

In the short run, it is true that we can and do lend foreigners the dollars with which to buy our exports. When such loans are made at market rates of interest, trade is properly advanced. But when government-subsidized credit is provided, such funds are denied to other, often more productive uses in our domestic economy.

In some cases, the connection between imports and exports is even more direct. Import restraints can reduce employment and profits in our more productive export industries, in many cases in the same region of the country. For example, in the nonrubber-footwear industry, U.S. exports of hides to foreign shoe producers suffered as a result of our restraints on the import of foreign shoes.

As with most issues of public policy, it is important to consider the costs and the benefits of free trade together. The typical response of government officials is to ignore the benefits of free trade to consumers (lower prices and improved living standards). The focus is on the costs, viewed in terms of the people who lose jobs or income as a result of imports.

But trade restraint to shield a specific industry from imports is really an internal transfer of income and wealth to that industry from the U.S. consumers and from other U.S. workers as well. That transfer takes the form of reduced employment and profits for the workers and owners of our export industries, who bear the brunt of retaliatory trade restrictions. Workers in industries that use the protected products (the auto industry, for example, which relies on steel) find that they too lose their international competitiveness, and the pleas for protection are heard again.

Moreover, many of the benefits of protectionist measures, even to the groups advocating them, turn out to be very temporary. For example, quotas on shoe imports resulted in an upgrading of the quality of imports. Thus, American producers found themselves threatened in that part of the market in which, prior to the protectionist action, they had firmly dominated. The same process is now taking place in the case of "voluntary" restraints on Japanese auto imports.

Protectionism has great political charm. The beneficiaries, if you have a society of 225 million individuals, are relatively few in number—100,000 or ten thousand, depending on the specific industry you are dealing with. There are very substantial benefits for each of the ten thousand or each of the 100,000. The cost, however, usually is far greater—$100,000 a year to maintain a job that pays $18,000 a year. But the cost is divided among two hundred million consumers who never know that they are bearing any of the cost. In public finance there is an old saying, "The best tax is a hidden tax." If you do not know you are paying the tax, you are not going to gripe about it. Think of protectionism as that hidden tax.

Those who benefit from exports and from the greater supply of goods and services, on the other hand, are generally not even aware of it. Although the benefits of open trade far exceed the costs, those benefits—such as lower prices to consumers—are widely diffused among fifty states and 225 million residents. The individual customer almost surely is not aware of why the price of a given item is going down—or at least not rising. Consequently, resistance at the grass-roots level to protectionist measures is considerably less strong than pressures for their adoption.

Another fact exacerbating the pressures for protectionism is that we only see one side of the story. It is very common nowadays for a business executive to recount how many products in his house were imported from Japan or Taiwan or Brazil. Of course, nowhere in the house does he have the products exported from the United States, which are in his counterpart's house. As long as each nation thinks it is the aggrieved party, the stage is set for a very fundamental souring of international relations.

The United States is not the only nation with trade barriers. Every nation has them. The European Economic Community levies duties on wheat, barley, oats, sorghum, rye, and rice. Italy bans foreign-produced television commercials. Japan finds all sorts of reasons for keeping out baseball bats and oranges.

Free trade is a matter of enlightened self-interest. Developing nations need access to the markets of the more developed countries if they are going to be able to service the massive indebtedness that they have incurred. However painful the process, the developed nations must adjust their economic structures to this reality.

We must also acknowledge the positive role of multinational corporations. They may be the favorite villain of many groups. Yet multinationals adapt to change more readily and are less likely to plead for protection than other companies. They are a key source of new employment in both developed and developing countries. They also are the private-sector alternative to foreign aid and other types of government intervention. This, of course, helps to explain why these so-called transnational enterprises are not universally popular, especially among the bureaucracies of international governmental organizations.

INTERNATIONAL organizations are increasingly involving themselves in the regulation of private enterprise. The result is a new set of barriers to world trade.

Advocates of this new array of regulation have overlooked the shortcomings of existing regulation of business in the developed countries. Study after study has demonstrated that government regulators have often been oblivious to the burdens that they impose on the private sector and, far more fundamentally, to the fact that such rules, regulations, and directives often do little to advance their stated social objectives.

One key finding permeates virtually all serious analyses of government regulation: It is the consumer who ultimately bears the burden that government, wittingly or unwittingly, imposes on business.

Many of the UN's regulatory measures are in an evolving state. Some are in the stages of development or negotiation—in the form of "advisory resolutions" or "voluntary guidelines." But in many instances, the regulations are legally binding treaties. The form in which they currently exist is often an indication of the next step to be taken in the international regulatory process. Yesterday's studies lead to today's "voluntary guidelines," which, in turn, become the basis for the treaties and directives of tomorrow. The Center for the Study of American Business at Washington University recently published a 98-page report merely to de-

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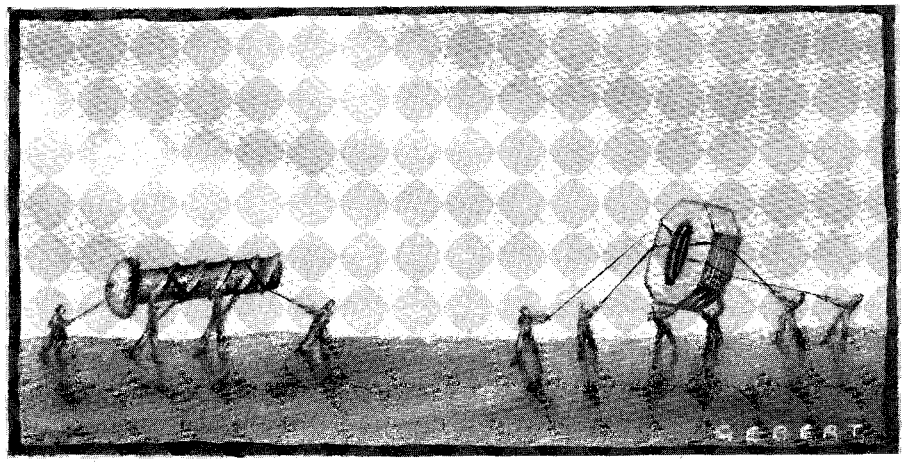
scribe the array of regulatory activity at the UN and other international agencies.

The most ambitious effort so far is the draft code of conduct for multinational corporations, which is being developed by a commission of the Economic and Social Council. About two-thirds of the code's 71 provisions have been agreed upon.

The language of the code would make any sensible company think twice before investing overseas. An example is the provision that multinational corporations should "avoid practices, products, or services which cause detrimental effects on cultural patterns and socio-cultural objectives as determined by government." Where is the historical perspective of the authors of the code? Over the centuries, civilization has been advanced by the transnational (to use that deadly term) flow of science, art, music, literature, and—yes—culture and commerce. Moreover, should the UN encourage the governments of its member nations to set "socio-cultural objectives" and require private enterprise to follow the "cultural patterns" set by government? This is not a traditional function of government regulation in a free society: It is a mechanism used by totalitarian rulers to enforce their power.

The UN's Economic and Social Council is also considering a sweeping consumer-protection code that would create new obstacles to international trade via controls on product advertising, safety, quality, and pricing. The proposed guidelines advocate replacing reliance on market competition—and consumer choice—with a system of government control. One objective is "to facilitate production patterns geared to meeting the most important needs of consumers." In economies organized along private-enterprise lines, the needs of consumers are always the strongest influence on production patterns; the pressures of the marketplace dictate that. But the guidelines suggest the need for a controlled, highly centralized economy in which consumer choices are limited by the decisions of an all-wise government. One need only consult the dismal record of the world's centrally planned economies in feeding their citizens to know that promulgating this objective would severely hurt the developing nations.

Furthermore, this objective overlooks the importance of world trade in meeting the needs of consumers. Most growing economies gear production toward international markets rather than only toward the so-called "most important needs" of their own consumers. The case of Japan is instructive. If its postwar economy had been limited to meeting the needs of its own population, it surely would not enjoy its present strong position in world markets and its high standard of living.



Proponents of international regulation should recognize that private enterprise has been the key to the successful development of Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, Japan, and other developing societies that have prospered in our own time. In fact, Japan has succeeded in moving from the developing to the developed category in this century, and it did so without the "benefit" of international regulation.

IT IS IRONIC that our own private sector is weakening the basic strength of the American economy by calling for protection from the effects of global competition. This is a case of labor and management in a given industry combining at consumers' expense. In the eighteenth or possibly even the nineteenth century there may have been some justification for the protection of "infant" industries. But flabby, mature industries of the 1980s need to get themselves in shape to face competitive realities.

The United States is still, though by rapidly diminishing margins, the largest trading nation in the world. As we become more protectionist we certainly are setting fashions that are quickly followed around the world. In all candor, I have to admit that, should we become less protectionist, we would likely find that our friends are slower to follow our lead than when we restrict trade. Nevertheless, it is essential that America take the lead. We can begin by entertaining the intriguing notion of developing a more open trading system, and then seriously take one major step forward—and challenge other nations to reduce their trade barriers to match.

On the international regulatory front, we must stand our ground and encourage other nations that value economic freedom to do likewise. Unfortunately, the public has little awareness of the extent to which the UN is becoming an economic body involved in radically changing the performance and character of private-enterprise economies throughout the world.

The regulatory proposals of the various units of the UN are deleterious to consumers in Western nations that thrive on free markets and the principle of competition. Large private companies (the so-called multinational corporations) are given special attention—and penalized—in the UN's proposals because they are the major alternative to direct government control and operation of the economic-development process. More basically, business firms are singled out because they pose a real threat to the establishment and maintenance of concentrated economic power in government—the hallmark of totalitarian societies.

International trade is not a narrow business or economic matter, but something basic to the relationships among nations. In this broader context, the resurgence of protectionism is worrisome, since it raises tensions and thus sours the basic relations among the nations of the world, whereas open trade expands opportunities for improving relationships among nations and their peoples. □

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LOOKING AT REAGAN'S VICTORY

FOUR MORE YEARS for Ronald Reagan—and, in theory, almost four more still for Margaret Thatcher, although in practice she will probably try her luck at the polls again a bit sooner. The two of them were elected originally on very similar platforms. Both were enthusiastically re-elected, thanks partly to their own qualities and partly to their opponents' weaknesses. And the query for them both now is whether the radical principles adumbrated in their rhetoric can be transformed, during this second term, into a lasting new sense of direction for their respective countries.

Both were pledged to reduce taxes, to cut public spending, and to balance the budget. Mrs. Thatcher has managed, more or less, to balance the budget but not to cut taxes. Mr. Reagan has cut taxes a little but has not balanced the budget. The reason for their partial failures is the same: they have been frustrated in their attempts to reduce public spending.

So far, Reaganomics appears more successful at delivering prosperity than the more austere economics of Thatcherism. This may not remain true: America's deficit may come home to roost; Mrs. Thatcher's restraint may bring its reward. But if the contrast does continue in America's favor, the explanation will lie in deep-seated differences, not only between the economies of Britain and the United States, but between British and American trade unions and attitudes toward business and the accumulation of wealth. Mrs. Thatcher's task in trying to turn her country round was, from the beginning, much harder than Mr. Reagan's; the problems were more deeply ingrained.

Paradoxically, both the British Labour Party and the British Conservative Party have been commending America's example, but from very different points of view. Labour politicians attribute America's economic recovery to the virtues of deficit financing; the British government too, they say, should borrow and spend more and not worry so much about inflation. Conservatives reply that, if Britain with a more precarious economy and less headroom were to pursue such a feckless course, it would be an invitation to disaster. In a more general economic sense, however, Nigel Lawson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, argued on television recently that Britain's only real cure lay in becoming more like America, encouraging small businesses, hiring and firing more easily, pricing people into jobs rather than out of them, not looking always to the government for help. In America, he pointed out, wages over the past few years have increased at less than the rate of inflation: in Britain wages have kept well ahead of inflation. Result: more jobs in America, more unemployment in Britain.

Fleet Street on Reagan

BRITAIN may be officially "in" Europe but, significantly, European elections create hardly a stir of attention in the British media, whereas American elections are covered almost as intensively as Britain's own. The quality of transatlantic reporting has improved considerably since the appallingly biased coverage of the Goldwater campaign or indeed since 1980, when *The Economist* said about Reagan's candidature that "the Democrats could scarcely have wished for an easier opponent if they had picked him themselves." The misleading effect of America's East Coast liberal press is now, in some degree, discounted. Nevertheless, many of the more pretentious commentators still find it hard to take Ronald Reagan seriously.

But electoral success on the scale now achieved by Mr. Reagan cannot be shrugged or laughed off. Nobody can any longer doubt that he really is the choice of the American people, and most editorial writers have been prepared to admit, in the words of the London *Daily Mail*, that "Americans like Ronald Reagan because he is likable." In the end they agreed that, warmed by Reagan's folksy charm, America was now more confident and vigorous, and that this must be a good thing for America's allies.

Gary Hart Country

THE MOST consistently bitter anti-Reagan remarks heard on British television have come from visiting Americans: from Gore Vidal, from Shelley Winters, from Gloria Steinem, who said that Reagan was "quite outside the mainstream consensus of American politics" and that she felt like apologizing to the rest of the world for him. When the Hart bandwagon started to roll, American residents in London immediately formed a committee to raise funds for his campaign. Asked why, one said merely that she had "good feelings toward Hart," another was "ashamed to be identified with Reagan's policies in Central America." The British media accepted such views as important and representative, but then, as summer turned to autumn, began to realize that they were not.

Geraldine Ferraro, although her candidature was plainly newsworthy, created little excitement in Britain, which is, after all, familiar with female politicians, and has discovered that, although Margaret Thatcher may be a highly controversial figure, the mere fact of her being a woman has had almost no psephological effect.

Mrs. Thatcher, like President Reagan, is a broad-sweep emotional leader, dedicated to "the politics of conviction," rather than a profound or careful philosopher: but, unlike him, she appears excessively earnest rather than

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excessively relaxed. Partly in consequence, she is more respected than liked, whereas President Reagan is more liked than respected. The IRA bomb that so nearly killed her at the Grand Hotel in Brighton restored her political popularity more than anything since the Falklands war. Here was the Iron Lady at her best and most characteristic, pursuing her course apparently unshaken and with not a hair out of place, but anxious for the wounded and admitting, humanly, that the horror of what had happened struck her suddenly, two days later, when she realized that this was a morning she had been meant never to see.

In her speech to the Conservative Party Conference, a few hours after the bombing, she scrupulously avoided suggesting any analogy between the terrorist violence of the IRA and the violence and lawlessness shown by the massed pickets of the striking coal miners or the snarling speakers at the Labour Party Conference who wanted to "smash" and "destroy" the existing order of society. But her audience made the connection readily enough, unbidden.

These dramatic events distracted attention from the underlying thread of discontent at the conference, which will also be a continuous, and perhaps ultimately decisive, element throughout her second term—worry about unemployment. Some 13 per cent of Britain's working population cannot find jobs, at least not of a kind or at a wage they are willing to accept: and the figure is still rising, because, although new jobs are being created, the number of youngsters leaving school has grown faster.

Mrs. Thatcher's opponents, both in the Labour Party and in the left, or "wet," wing of the Conservative Party, accuse her of not caring about unemployment; which is absurd, if only because so many votes are at stake. She and her inner circle of cabinet colleagues are constantly urged to show more compassion. They respond by making frequent references to "the tragedy of unemployment." What more is required of them, unless to roll on the ground pouring ashes on their hair, remains unspecified.

Of course, what the critics really mean is that the government should borrow and spend a great deal of extra money to "create" new jobs. They seem unable to grasp even the possibility that such action might be counterproductive (and therefore not compassionate at all) because to increase public spending must, either by inflation or through higher taxes, erode the capital from which real new jobs are born. Least willing to consider that argument are a whole clutch of silly Anglican bishops, who have chosen lately to throw themselves into the worldly fray, on the leftward side naturally. Britain has no equivalent of the right-wing religious movement that helped President Reagan.

Tories' Dilemma

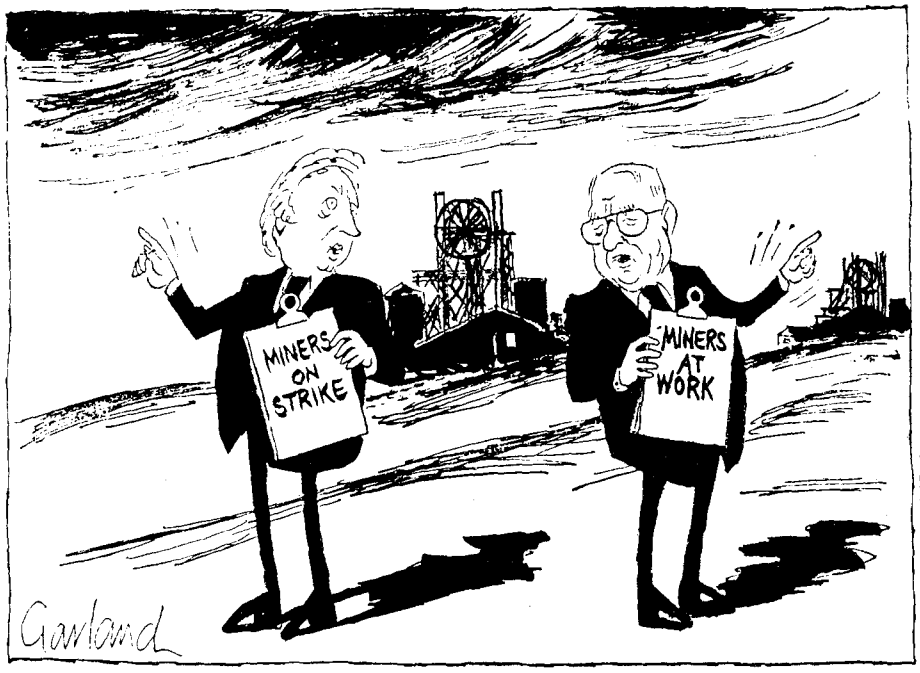
EVEN AFTER five years of Mrs. Thatcher's allegedly very right-wing administration, the fundamental problems have scarcely been touched. Taxation remains far too high and operates, in conjunction with the welfare system, as a major disincentive to work. At the same time, union-sponsored rules have made employing people very expensive and getting rid of them, once employed, very difficult. So the labor market doesn't function well. The demand of Arthur Scargill, the miners' leader, that no pit should ever be closed on economic grounds is, though more blatantly spelled out than usual, entirely standard.

Management, which, for the sake of a quiet life, has connived at union intransigence, must share the blame. Indeed many industrialists seem hardly more economically sophisticated than bishops. The merest hint of a cut in any item of government expenditure provokes an immediate howl of alarm, which is rapidly taken up by the media and in Parliament. Cabinet ministers shamelessly boast of defending their own departmental budgets against the mean-minded Treasury.

These are the barriers that Mrs. Thatcher failed to surmount during her first term and that she is still trying, with too much caution rather than too much zeal, to overcome in her second.

Meanwhile the Labour Party, its organization increasingly dominated by Marxists, would, if it could regain power, increase public spending, relax the fight against inflation, impose new levies on capital, remove any legal curbs that the unions dislike, and then try to contain the damage with rigorous economic and social controls. Senator Paul Laxalt said in Dallas last summer that the Democrats were now so left-wing that they had become "America's version of the British Labour Party." There is an element of truth in this cruel slander. However, no one who saw the weird but cheerful Democratic Convention and then the ugly, bitter Labour Party Conference could fail to be struck more by the contrasts than by the similarity.

The election of the President, as observed from across the Atlantic, left one overwhelming impression—how very fortunate Americans were that they had nothing worse to fear than Fritz Mondale. □



Garland, *Daily Telegraph* / Rothco

"I counted them all out." *"And I'm counting them all back again."*

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ABROAD

PARIS *Trouble in Battalions*

The withdrawal of Libyan troops, who confronted the French across a demarcation line in the central-African country of Chad for a considerable period but never officially opened fire, is still far from an acknowledged fact. But although the French have marched off in good faith to the neighboring country of Cameroon, there is some doubt that the Libyans intend to keep the pledge made in the agreement they signed with the French at Tripoli. Journalists have noted the movement of two Libyan columns comprising some one thousand men, thirty Soviet-built tanks, and batteries of SAM-9 missiles northward toward their homeland. Deep suspicion of Libyan intentions remains, however, and it has not been dispelled by the recent breakdown of the "peace" conference at Brazzaville in the Congo, nor by recent high-level insistence by French officials that all is well. There are other worries. President Hissen Habre, who controls the southern part of Chad from his capital at N'Djamena, faces further uprisings in settlements in the southeast; there have already been massacres on both the government and the rebel sides. On top of all this, a new outbreak of famine threatens not only the Sahara region of Chad but its savanna lands as well.

BONN *Ostpolitik Somehow*

The recent visit of Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu has gone a step toward counterbalancing the blow to the Federal Republic's Ostpolitik delivered by Moscow when it forced East German leader Erich Honecker and Bulgarian president Todor Zhivkov to cancel their carefully planned visits here. Ceausescu was as usual able to resist similar pressure and display his independence from Moscow, at least as far as his travel movements are concerned. But he did little to dissociate himself from the Soviet line with respect to NATO. There was one point, however, on which his German hosts were insistent—the right of several hundred thousand ethnic Germans to emigrate from Rumania westward.

MADRID *Poder*

This year marks the four-hundredth anniversary of the building of the Escorial, one of the most powerful structures in Europe and for centuries the visible expression of the might of the Spanish empire. Situated in the rolling hills north of Madrid, the Monastery of St. Lawrence of the Escorial, to give it its proper name, was erected by King Philip II, the man who presided over Spain's golden age and held the threads of European power in his hands. The king was a master of dossiers, and his office in the Escorial was the center of a web of intrigue and bureaucracy that covered half the globe. He spent his last days in a tiny bedroom overlooking the altar of the palace chapel and confronting at the foot of his bed a skull whose brow was encircled with a crown of gold—to remind Philip of the mortality of kings. The vast monastery-palace, built in a gridiron pattern in homage to St. Lawrence, who was roasted to death, is being restored and modernized, especially the quarters of the monks who continue to inhabit it, and the picture galleries and libraries, which are among the richest in Europe.

HULL *Gifts Beware*

Tons of food sent to the families of striking coal miners in Britain by Soviet trade unions have been prohibited from entering the country by the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries, and Food. Stockpiled at this east-coast port, it must be either returned or destroyed. Some of the supplies sent, including cooking oil, sugar, and condensed milk, have been approved for use. But meat and meat-based products are banned by a law designed to prevent the spread of contagious diseases. A spokesman for the ministry said that the Russian meat products were not acceptable by British health standards. "We do not want anyone to get the idea that any part of the cargo is being excluded for reasons other than normal," he added.

PEKING *Burmese Days*

Burmese President General San Yu has just concluded an official visit to the People's Republic of China and found, together with his hosts, that relations between their two countries are on the whole excellent. If there is a bone of contention, it concerns the aid Peking supplies to ten thousand guerrillas of the pro-Chinese Burmese Communist Party, who have been fighting the Rangoon government near the Chinese province of Yunnan for the past thirty years. San Yu's visit is seen here primarily as an effort by the Burmese to make sure they will not be disturbed politically in their role of a super-nonaligned state, a role that suits Peking well. Burma is so insistent on its orientation that it recently quit the official nonaligned movement because its attitude seemed too pro-Soviet.

LONDON *The Older Order*

There will soon be a Roman Catholic chaplain at ancient and renowned Eton College, the first since the Reformation, which came a century after it was founded. Eton, which was begun by King Henry VI in 1440 and has probably had more influence on history than any other secondary school anywhere, has been since the middle of the sixteenth century an Anglican establishment. But today, one in eight of its 1,200 boys is Catholic.

Margulies, *Houston Post* / Rothco

"I appreciate all of you turning out to welcome me back."

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CHRISTMAS: FOCUSING ON POVERTY

At Christmas, Christian eyes focus on poverty. When God sent his only Son into our darkness, He expressed a "preferential option for the poor." He chose to be born among them: in a stable, on the straw, in an era of almost universal poverty among the 170 million persons then alive on earth. And three rich kings paid homage.

So must we all. In honoring the poor—in actually *helping* the poor—we honor the Lord, in the way He most wishes to be honored.

In that way, we also take up America's self-proclaimed task. "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free," our Statue of Liberty proclaims to the world. The United States, of all political economies in history, was the first purposefully established to break the tyranny of universal poverty, to welcome, to honor, and to lift up the poor. And they (like the families of nearly all of us) still come streaming to these shores. The road out of poverty, proven and sound, is called Liberty. Look at the Cubans in Miami, the Koreans and Eastern European Jews in New York, the West Indian blacks all around the nation.

Liberty is not enough for all, of course. The too old and the too young are necessarily outside the active economy. They make up about 50 per cent of those classed as "officially poor" in the U.S. today. Such persons are dependent upon others.

In former times, families and neighbors and local church members cared for such persons (and many still do). But in a dynamic, mobile, continental economy, millions find themselves apart from family, lifelong neighbors, a church where they are known. These a national "safety net" properly catches: helps with free public schooling, food stamps, housing supplements, modest income assistance, Medicare (for the old) and Medicaid (for the young).

Furthermore, even among those of an age for self-reliance, many are disabled, emotionally unable to work, tending to small children, in school, temporarily down on their luck. These, too, a good society helps. There are not many among the "officially poor" in America who are capable of self-reliance—not more, it seems, than 12 million—and studies show that the vast majority of these are poor only temporarily, for only two or so out of the last ten years.

Among the measures of a good society are two: The numbers of the poor should go down from decade to decade, and the standard of what counts as poverty should go up. In the United States, our citizens support welfare programs for the poor at a level ten times higher than two decades ago, when John F. Kennedy launched a major new welfare reform in his Budget Message of February 1, 1962.

As a criterion of that welfare reform, President Kennedy announced "the integrity and preservation of the family unit." Which brings us back to the family scene at Bethlehem. To emphasize family was a very *Christian* and *Jewish* theme for Kennedy, a very *American* theme. For most people, family is the one institution that really worked during the turbulent past thousand years, when state (and even church) was often enough embroiled in strife, war, revolution, fratricide, pogrom.

And here, at Christmas, when we contemplate family life in the United States, there is much to be troubled by. The fastest-growing proportion of the poor is made up of single-parent households and their minor children. Poverty is growing faster among this group than it is being alleviated among the others.

Where husbands and wives stay together, poverty rates (in part because of two incomes, in part because of the discipline of family virtues) are significantly lower. The most troubling trend is the growing number of young males who, begetting children, do not form a family, abandoning young woman and child. Neither nature nor nature's God so commands. Such behavior seems never to have happened before in these proportions. To seek out the incentives that inspire such behavior, and to alter them, is to take up a family perspective on poverty.

Too much public-policy thinking imagines "individuals" and "the state." Too much overlooks the concrete texture of daily life, in which the real wealth of persons comes from the love and the lore of family and friends. How can public policy knit up human networks, assist them to work better—at the very least, not unravel them? All public policy ought to be made to pass a Family Impact test.

Teenage mothers, alone with their children, need schooling for self-reliance and job skills, plus help with nutrition, child care, and instruction in how children are best cared for, raised, and inspired—the instruction that grandmothers and mothers historically supplied.

The crucial practical debate about poverty is what to do about the children. The millions of religious persons in the United States who are not poor outnumber the 18 million poor children in the United States by at least five to one. If each well-off congregation took a "sister church" in a poor community, much human interaction might be added to what the state currently gives in assistance.

In the end, poverty is not financial. Millions arriving here with thirty cents in their pocket have not thought of themselves as poor or helpless or doomed to dead-end jobs. To be poor is not to be a victim. It is to be called to self-realization, to a dream, to Bethlehem. □

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HARRINGTON, D.C.

Joseph Sobran

The New American Poverty, by Michael Harrington (Holt, Rinehart, 271 pp., $17.95)

MICHAEL HARRINGTON, Scarsdale's leading socialist, is back. Or rather, he has never left: The poverty expert ye have always with you. In *The New American Poverty* he tells of "structures of misery" that—needlessly—keep the poor poor.

Ronald Reagan, to be sure, is "cruel," but poverty isn't all his fault. "Conservative America" as a whole is to blame. If we—that is, those of us who aren't irremediably conservative and bent on "blaming the victims"—set our minds to it, we can not only eliminate poverty, but maybe even "discover a new vision of ourselves that rises above our individual needs and unites us in a common purpose." We can begin a "pilgrimage toward the fullness of our humanity." Who knows, with a real effort we may wind up like Sweden!

Harrington, a former Catholic, was among the experts who testified before the Catholic bishops by way of helping them formulate their draft pastoral statement on the economy, and it showed. The bishops called the "inequitable" distribution of wealth hereabouts a "scandal" and went so far as to say it causes some people, who doubt that a "loving God" would put up with it, to lose their faith. They must have had Harrington in mind. I mean, God might countenance Genghis Khan, the Gulag, World War II, the abortion clinics . . . but the American economy?

The obvious mistake in trying to explain poverty is that it doesn't need explaining. It exists, as any Catholic student ought to know, only as any privation "exists." It's wealth that needs explaining. Harrington writes, in every sentence, as if wealth existed first and then poverty grew on it, like a fungus. Creating wealth is, accordingly, no problem. Neither is redistributing it (look at Sweden!).

I hardly need say that there are no such things as incentives, property rights, or critical marginal tax rates. There is only a sort of reverse work ethic: All we have to do is *will* an end to poverty. Didn't we try that in the Sixties? We didn't spend enough. Only $6 billion for the Office of Economic Opportunity, Harrington complains, when $40 billion might have done the job.

Like the bishops, Harrington forbids us to blame the victim—an intimation, to my way of thinking, that there may in fact be some merit in doing so. He doesn't like the idea that there may actually be something in the concept of a "culture of poverty," but he admits in passing that there may be something to the Protestant work ethic. But if the Protestant ethic is a specific cultural form that produces wealth, then maybe people who don't have it won't be inclined to produce wealth.

You don't have to "blame" people for that, or call them "lazy," as Harrington says we conservatives generally do (he may be over-generalizing from Scarsdale), in order to say that cultures make choices just as individuals do. They may choose not to create wealth; they may choose something better instead; but if they make such a choice, they aren't going to have wealth.

Harrington vaguely recognizes that "poverty" is not, therefore, a single and simple entity; he is driven to positing "poverties"—"subcultures of American misery." But who says the poor are all that miserable? There are other sources of happiness and misery than wealth and poverty.

He recognizes this too, though late in the book, when he lays this insight on us: "There are, I submit, aspects of the interior self that are not going to be touched by the best of programs, and it is a very big mistake—political as well as intellectual—to talk as if it were a simple matter to transform psyches." Who knows how many billions *that* would cost. But it's a relief to see the soul pop up here and there in this book, if only as a residue of government programs.

Of course "we"—we highminded social reformers—somehow escape the crushing burden of economic conditions, and we are capable of the spiritual pilgrimage of transforming society. But what if the rich are as fully the products of conditioning as the poor? An old question, but Harrington

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Jeffrey Meyers has written biographies of Katherine Mansfield and Wyndham Lewis. His life of Hemingway will be published in 1985 by Harper & Row.

Francis Russell, a longtime contributor to NR, *is one of the country's foremost writers of twentieth-century New England history. He is currently working on a new book about the Sacco & Vanzetti case.*

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hasn't gotten around to answering it yet. To understand all is, for him, to have a comprehensive program for all, and he juggles statistics tirelessly for more than two hundred pages to prove that poverty programs really work.

The lesson of recent history would seem to be, on the contrary, that to understand all—poverty, crime, ignorance, unchastity—is to get more of it. We need a bit less "compassion" and a lot more authority. Oops! Have I said something troglodytic? It is the mission of this poverty mystic to convince us that common sense is always wrong: He wants us to "perceive passionately," as he put it in *The Other America*, so that we can see that the emperor is really wearing rags, resplendent appearances to the contrary.

"This society still outrageously stigmatizes children born out of wedlock as 'illegitimate,' even though it is rather obvious that it was not the baby who engaged in pre- or extramarital sex." Outrageously? "Illegitimate" is a kindly euphemism for "bastard." Should we avoid distinguishing altogether? Such is the relentless moralism of this man who purports to explain everything in terms of objective "structures." And yes, we are making "war on the poor"; many of the well-to-do Cubans in Miami became "wealthy through the Batista dictatorship" (they must have made uncommonly durable fortunes); Vietnam derailed the Great Society; etc.

In Harrington's world, poverty is always explained, and wealth is always explained away. To give people credit for getting ahead is priggish, though of course the poor must be given credit for the very virtues of thrift and industry that the middle classes and wealthy deserve no credit for. A bleaker world view is unimaginable.

"That fellow seems to me to have but one idea," Samuel Johnson said of a contemporary, "and that is a wrong one." Harrington's "one idea" is socialism, underlying which is a gnostic outlook so depressing that you wonder, with every page, how he summons up the will to carry on in a world so joyless, so colorless. True, he is paid amply for it, in money and glory, but what's the point of being rich and famous and living in Scarsdale if you don't even approve of it, let alone enjoy it? If he likes Sweden so much, why doesn't he *go* there?

I don't know. But if he is going to stay here, we ought to honor his enormous influence on our form of government by renaming the capital Harrington, D.C. That would be only fair to George Washington, who did nothing to deserve to be associated with the socialist leviathan. □

A NOISY DISASTER

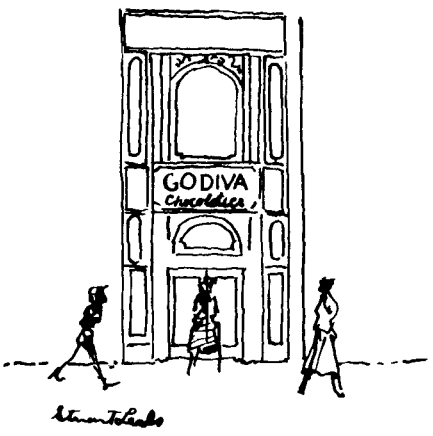
Victor Gold

The Liberal Crack-Up, by R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr. (Simon & Schuster, 256 pp., $16.95)

WE GROW OLD. It seems only yesterday—the Western White House was in San Clemente and George McGovern was assailing the Evil Empire (the U.S., of course)—that Bob Tyrrell was editing *The Alternative* as the *nouvel enfant terrible* of the libertarian Right. Now *The Alternative* has become an *American Spectator*, Jane Fonda is touting the virtue of burning calories, not bras, and our *enfant terrible* has emerged, full blown, as a middle-aged curmudgeon.

The Liberal Crack-Up, Tyrrell tells us in his preface, is the product of a dinner conversation he had with Midge Decter "at a renowned Midtown Manhattan slow-food joint." In a previous book, *Public Nuisances*, Tyrrell had taken on the major icons of air-headed liberalism. Though popular with his boisterous fan club at McSorley's Old Ale House, *Public Nuisances*, the author concedes, was a "rude" book, relentless in its assault on the sensibilities of the Left intelligentsia; in short, just the sort of book that Bob Tyrrell would admit to having had "fun writing."

"You wrote about the public nuisances," Midge Decter prodded him.



"Now write about their ideas." She had raised, writes Tyrrell,

> an absorbing subject, that being the palpable absurdity of the major ideas of our time. Practically all of them had entered the public forum more than a decade before, when they were boomed as very intellectual and innovative. Alas, by the 1970s most had shown themselves to be profoundly anti-intellectual; and they had hardened into a cheap orthodoxy, so obvious and vulgar that almost anyone could master it and mouth its dunderheaded pieties. That is precisely what Jimmy Carter did in 1976. . . .

So much for any fear that Tyrrell, in taking on the bloodless subject of liberal ideas, would forgo that which he does best: *ad hominem* dunderhead-bashing of what he terms New Age Liberals—those of the fever-swamp Left who purvey an ideology "illiberal in its policies, inane in its oratory, and irretrievably corrupted by ambivalent purpose and an all-consuming baseness."

It is Tyrrell's thesis that "New Age Liberalism is no longer the sensible, tolerant, highly principled body of thought that liberalism was in decades past. Sometime in the 1960s or early 1970s, it cracked up into a riot of enthusiasms, usually contradictory, always extremist, often *non compos mentis*."

A conclusion few outside the fever swamp would dispute; but, of course, it isn't so much the destination of Tyrrell's neo-Menckenesque essays that holds his fans as the eccentric route he takes to get there. A random sampling from his latest:

On liberal hubris: "There have been few other groups of mortals in history so inflated by their own sanctimonious conceits, and there has been no other group in history that acquired these conceits without benefit of clergy or consultations with some derivation of Yahweh. Cromwell conferred with God; Galbraith conferred only with the descendants of Eleanor Roosevelt."

On Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty: "In the extravagant spirit of the time they remade the American polity. Frenzy directed their labors. They worked with a blueprint. They taxed without mercy. What resulted was not an American welfare state, rationally and prudently constructed, but a blowsy milch-cow state teeming with superparasites."

On Allen Ginsberg and the anti-

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nuclear movement: "Here you have a literary prankster whose body has been a test tube for every imaginable narcotic, yet he mounts the stage and advises the morally upright on matters of health and safety."

On the liberal modus vivendi: "At the heart of American liberalism there has always been a sobbing: profuse, inconsolable sobbing. Yet the liberal heart is a sizable organ and so there is room for much more—for instance: shouting, brave and indignant shouting. . . . Shouts and sobs, research and analysis, manifestos and laments—liberalism is a very noisy philosophy."

On Jimmy Carter's Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance: "a statesman as prepossessing as a hamster."

On Jimmy Carter's UN Ambassador, Andrew Young: "a periphrastic maniac."

On Jimmy Carter: "He was a scamp mountebank from jerkwater America whose knowledge of government and of history was somewhere between that of a washroom attendant at '21' and a modestly educated welfare queen."

Fun writing, fun reading. But fun aside, *The Liberal Crack-Up* is a critical dissection of the New Liberal body politic, made all the more timely by the fate of the shouting, sobbing Mondale-Ferraro campaign. Doubtless those hip-deep in the fever swamp will find it rude; but the crowd around the bar at McSorley's should love it. □

RUSTIC CHIVALRY

Nicholas King

Of Murder and Madness, by Gerry Spence (Doubleday, 463 pp., $17.95)

GERRY SPENCE is a criminal lawyer in Wyoming, famous in his home state and believed by some to be the finest trial lawyer in America. He is certainly enormously effective if the case described so vividly in this book is any measure. That he tells it himself in terms of his kaleidoscopic personality makes it all the more powerful. Cross-hatched with Western folk experience, the book becomes in the end aerobic reading.

The murder and madness of the title concern a young Mexican named Joe Esquibel who grows up in the slums of Rawlins, a town in southern Wyo-

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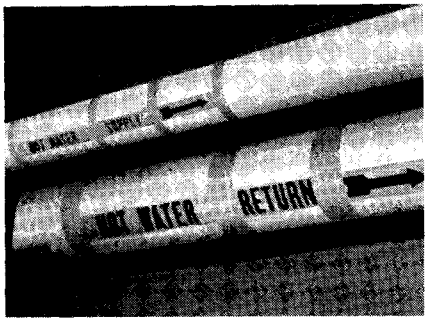

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RANDOM NOTES

☐ LAST NOVEMBER TITLES: *Apples and Pears: And Other Stories* (North Point, $20), by Guy Davenport, is a collection of short prose as unique and interesting as any of the author's earlier work.

Merton: By Those Who Knew Him Best (Harper & Row, $12.95), edited by Paul Wilkes, has its origin in the TV documentary *Merton: A Film Biography* and consists of an anthology of reminiscences by twenty people, including Joan Baez, Robert Giroux, and Lawrence Ferlinghetti.

Worlds Apart: An Explorer's Life (Little, Brown, $22.50), by Robin Hanbury-Tenison, looks to be an excellent autobiography by the British explorer, humanitarian, and amateur anthropologist.

☐ MORE DECEMBER TITLES: *A Vietnam Experience: Ten Years of Reflection* (Hoover Institution, $19.95), by James B. Stockdale, consists of speeches, magazine articles, and other published works written in the ten years beginning in 1973, when the author was released from Hoa Lo prison in Hanoi after spending eight years as the highest-ranking U.S. Navy officer among the POWs there. Stockdale, now a research fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford, regards war as at bottom an irrational exercise better left to the experts.

The Innocent Eye (Farrar, $18.95), by Roger Shattuck, re-examines the work of Valéry, Apollinaire, Baudelaire, Duchamp, Magritte, and others, and concludes that every work of art must be apprehended by an "innocent eye" that declines to "subordinate literature to the claims of any extra-literary discipline to superior authority or knowledge." Approvingly, Shattuck quotes Baudelaire, who wrote: "The dispersion and reconstitution of the *self*. That's the whole story."

Letters of Delmore Schwartz (Ontario Review/Persea, $24.95), selected and edited by Robert Phillips, amounts, in its editor's words, to "an autobiography in letters" written to such correspondents as Allen Tate, Ezra Pound, Saul Bellow, and R. P. Blackmur. —CW

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ming, and becomes entangled with the local social-welfare system to his own and everyone else's grief. The murder is committed by him against his wife in the welfare office itself in full view of the office staff, including the victim's mother, who works there. Spence takes Esquibel's case and is able to persuade three distinct juries, and the whole psychiatric establishment of the state of Wyoming to boot, that the deed was done in a fit of literal mindlessness and did not count as a true crime.

Esquibel was one of a brood of Mexican children spawned in poverty. His father worked on and off on the railroad and his mother, during her mate's absences, became a "boxcar woman," a prostitute who slept with men in empty freight cars in the Rawlins yards. Then Joe's father died; his elder brother was killed in a tavern fight; and he spent several years in a reformatory as an irredeemable. On the outside, he had several children by Mexican girls and then more by Sharon, the pretty, educated daughter of an Anglo welfare worker, Mona Lee Murphy. Joe eventually married Sharon, and then killed her with a pistol in public.

On top of this nightmare set of circumstances were laid all the prejudices of an isolated town, all the more devastating when leveled against a reprobate Mexican. It was from these daunting circumstances that Gerry Spence did most skillfully extricate him in a long ordeal of three separate court sessions. Finally, Esquibel was able to die —albeit violently—in freedom, having been judged not guilty of murder by reason of temporary insanity.

Spence's account of this case is a formidable morality tale. The reader is constantly within the defense's mind, hanging on the triggers of the lawyer's strategy. He lives, too, through the episodes of Spence's private life of picaresque gallantry. Spence is a lawyer and not a cowboy, but that *persona* seems to hang over the high mountain landscape. The narrative itself is rich and well-paced despite, or perhaps really because of, the lengthy courtroom proceedings.

But Spence is not content to present the flesh and blood of perfectly real and compelling human beings. He is tempted to improve his story with fiction in the current fashionable manner of document-spicing. And so he introduces a couple of characters, including the mother of Sharon, the dead woman. Her mother of course did exist, and she did in fact, like the fictional character, work in the welfare office. But the character as written is entirely fictitious, and her words (though not her courtroom testimony) entirely invented. Invented too is a second character, the welfare director who becomes her lover. Together on those long automobile rides which are characteristic of Wyoming life, they hash over the background of the case and tidy up some of the loose ends. This is a convenience for the author, as he says, but it introduces the reader to a certain residual doubt that he would rather not know. For neither the mother nor the welfare officer plays an important part in the book. The facts themselves, together with Mr. Spence's bravura presentation of them, are all the reader really needs. ☐

THROUGH PAGAN EYES

Francis Russell

The Christians as the Romans Saw Them, by Robert L. Wilken (Yale, 214 pp., $17.95)

HOW DID Christianity first seem to the established society of the Roman Empire? Pliny, the urbane governor of Bithynia, considered it "a depraved superstition carried to extravagant lengths." The same disparaging term was used by Tacitus and Suetonius. Christianity first appeared in the Roman Empire as a religion of the dispossessed, scornful of the established pagan worship. In Pliny's day (63-113 A.D.) there were fewer than fifty thousand Christians in an empire of sixty million. Christianity, like all religions at their beginnings—whatever their metaphysical value—was a cult apart, most Christians being uneducated and illiterate, and all too easily exploited by hucksters like the second-century charismatic con man, Peregrinus, who,

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Gentlemen:

This isn't a letter to the editor, I just wanted to tell you that National Review has been a surprise to me. I got my first copy on a newsstand when I saw Solzhenitsyn's name on the cover. I was only vaguely aware of what National Review was because I read Bill Buckley but of course I knew Solzhenitsyn, and his speech in that issue [The Templeton Address, NR July 27 --Ed.] was great. Then I read your article on Walter Mondale and I thought that was pretty good too. Anyway I ended up reading the whole thing and subscribing. Now I wish I had known about it before because you really do have a different point of view from my usual stuff. I admit I don't agree with it all, but it is different and I like the funny items and appreciate the Buckley columns which I don't see very often anymore in the [Washington] Post (and when they do run them they look like they're only about half as long as yours anyway). Just thought I'd let you know that you're doing a good job, at least for a reader who spends most of his days glazed-eyed over government documents.

B. Tobin
Washington, D. C.

We'll admit we don't get many letters like the above—nor does our new friend put the case for NR exactly as we would ourselves—still, he makes a great point: NR is different, and it's well worth getting regularly. So if you don't yet have your own personal subscription, why not use the card facing this page now? It will bring you the next 15 valuable issues for just $14.95 (saving you a full $7.55 over the newsstand price). And now is the best time to have NR—with the '84 presidential battles already in full swing, you shouldn't miss a single installment of NR's unique reporting and inside information.

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mutatis mutandis, bears an unhappy resemblance to present-day television evangelists. "If any charlatan or trickster, able to profit by the occasion, comes among them," Lucian wrote, "he acquires sudden wealth by imposing on simple folk."

How the Christians regarded the Romans is familiar enough. Christian education and tradition, as R. M. Ogilvie noted, have been so strong that we fail to give the Romans credit for actually believing in the existence and power of their pagan gods. Yet there were many devout believers. How they regarded the Christians has been given little more than cursory examination. Only in 1948 did Pierre de Labriolle's full-length study of the pagan reaction to Christianity appear. Robert Wilken, professor of Christianity at Notre Dame, has now given us the first general study in English. "My intention," he writes, "has been to understand the attitudes of the ancient Romans toward Christianity in the period when the Christian religion assumed its classical form and to learn from them something about the life and values of the ancient world, as well as about Christianity."

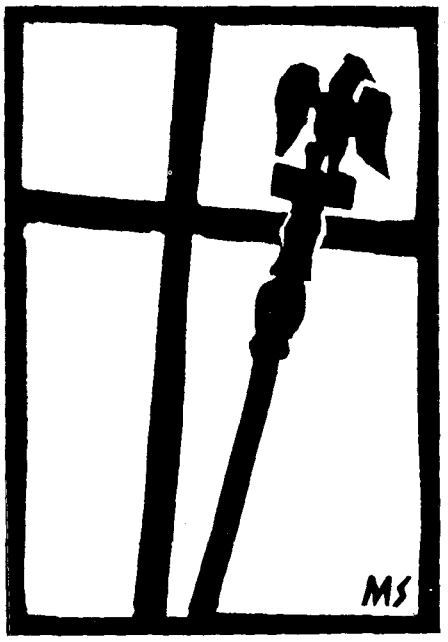
As Christianity expanded from a cult to a religion, defenders of the Roman way of life took their stand against it. Professor Wilken has traced this development through five major opponents of the emergent religion: In the first century the conservative Pliny; Celsus and the physician-philosopher Galen in the next one; the Greek philosopher Porphyry in the third; and finally, in the fourth century, the Emperor Julian.

Pliny mentioned the Christians only briefly and casually in his letters, but he obviously viewed them as subversives; and when, against his warnings, those brought before him insisted on identifying themselves by their faith he regretfully had them put to death. Galen did not write directly against Christianity, but he did touch on it in several of his medical treatises. The first direct attack was Celsus's *True Doctrine*, a treatise that was gathered up and destroyed along with the writings of Porphyry and Julian after Christianity became the official religion of the Empire. Nothing is known of Celsus except for his polemic, but Origen wrote a reply, *Against Celsus*, in eight massive volumes; it is from the many passages he cited that one can to a considerable extent reconstruct Celsus's book. Celsus apparently saw Jesus as simply one of the many successful magicians in the cities and towns of the Roman Empire.

Of all the critics of Christianity in antiquity Porphyry was the most learned and astute, but his *Against the Christians*, destroyed like Celsus's treatise, survives only in fragments scattered through half a dozen authors. "By its insistence," Porphyry wrote, "that no one can come to God except through a man who lived at a specific time and place, Christianity excludes those who have gone before and those who have no knowledge of Jesus of Nazareth." Porphyry undermined the whole structure that Christians had built on the foundation of the prophecy of Daniel, an example of textual criticism subsequently accepted by all Biblical scholars.

Julian, a nephew of Constantine and brought up as a Christian, reverted both intellectually and emotionally to the traditional pagan faith, opposing his uncle's Christianity with a sophisticated idea of God learned from his Platonic teachers. His attack was the more devastating since he knew Christianity from the inside. Julian's writings, too, were destroyed, though much can be recovered from quotations in a fifth-century refutation by Bishop Cyril of Alexandria.

As Professor Wilken points out, many of the themes that have played a role in the history of Christian thought and are still debated today were first adumbrated in the dialogue between Christianity and the classical intellectual tradition. Confronted by men of searching intellect like Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian, Christianity grew intellectually mature. Through such criticism Christians found their authentic voice; without that pagan protest their religion would have been the poorer. "Christians encountered the traditions of the ancient world not simply as an intellectual legacy from the past, not only in the education they received, but as part of a vital interaction through the vigorous criticism of pagan intellectuals." One assumes that Professor Wilken is himself a Christian, but beyond any question of belief or disbelief his is an engrossing and enlightening book. □



THE QUALITY OF BLEAKNESS

Jeffrey Meyers

T. S. Eliot: A Life, by Peter Ackroyd (Simon & Schuster, 400 pp., $24.95)

ELIOT—like Kafka, Orwell, and Auden—specified that he did not want to have a biography written about him. But he paradoxically stated, in "The Frontiers of Criticism" (1956): "There is no reason why biographies of poets should not be written. . . . Any critic seriously concerned with a man's work should be expected to know something about the man's life." Several inadequate biographical studies have been published, and an edition of Eliot's letters has been promised for many years (I have heard, on good authority, that this project has long since been completed and is being deliberately withheld), so this study fills a major gap.

Since Ackroyd's interesting and well-written book has been so highly praised in England, it might be useful to mention some of its limitations. The archival research has been exhaustive, but the book seems to be based on interviews with only 17 people. Its scope is too small and its contents too thin. It covers the first 18 years of Eliot's life in 15 pages and describes the last seven years in only nine pages. It arouses but does not slake our curiosity. We want to know a great deal more than we are told about the St. Louis background and the five sib-

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lings of this late child of thwarted artists, who was born with a congenital double hernia; of his shadowy roommates at Harvard; of his friendship with Jean Verdenal, killed in the Dardanelles, to whom he dedicated *Prufrock*; of the crippled man of letters, John Hayward, with whom he lived for 11 years; of Emily Hale, whom he was very fond of but did not marry; of his good friend Mary Trevelyan, who twice proposed to him and was twice refused; and of the attractions of his bovine secretary, Valerie Fletcher, which led to their marriage when she was thirty and he was 68. (His mother-in-law's comment on his "virginal" quality suggests the nature of their sexual life.) More needs to be said about the young Eliot's financial difficulties (what *was* the inheritance from his father?), and an entire book could (and will) be written on the publishing career and influence on modern poetry of "the Pope of Russell Square."

Fortunately, however, Ackroyd gets well away from what Cyril Connolly called "the cat addict and cheese taster, the writer of pawky blurbs, the church warden, the polite deflater," and shows, contrary to received opinion, that Eliot was neither cold nor learned. Ackroyd shows how Eliot's adult traits developed from his childhood. The New England repression, the business tradition, the comfort derived from the society of women, the imitative skills, the peculiar combination of Yankee toughness and shuddering sensitivity, of self-awareness and self-doubt, the intelligence, reserve, and detachment were all elements in his early character.

Ackroyd is too severe on the "sterility" of Harvard. Charles Copeland, Irving Babbitt, and George Santayana gave Eliot a first-rate education; and the university was patient about his unfinished dissertation on the philosophy of F. H. Bradley and generous with fellowships. At Harvard, Eliot first discovered some of the seminal influences on his work: Dante, the Jacobean dramatists, the Metaphysical poets, Laforgue and Baudelaire, the English aesthetes of the 1890s. Ackroyd perceptively points out that Eliot expressed his deepest feelings in response to other poetry, that he did not develop as a thinker but merely elaborated his previous convictions, that "the act of creation was for him the act of synthesis," and that it was his talent for concentration and elimination that led to the brilliant obliquities of his poetry.

The central drama of Eliot's life was his marriage to Vivien Haigh-Wood, which began a lifetime of torment that seemed like a Dostoyevsky novel badly rewritten by John Middleton Murry. Lady Ottoline Morrell noted that the young Eliot had already "lost all spontaneity and can only break through his conventionality by stimulants or violent emotion." Vivien, who first revealed to him the possibilities of emotional life and was sexually experienced when he was innocent, said she had married Eliot to stimulate him but found she could not do so. She had better success with Bertrand Russell, who predicted that Vivien would soon tire of Eliot and proceeded to cuckold his former student.

Like Leonard Woolf, Scott Fitzgerald, and Heinrich Mann, Eliot had a mad wife who sometimes became a public spectacle. The surprising thing about their marriage is not that Eliot left Vivien, but that he remained with her for 17 years. Though Ackroyd argues that "A Game of Chess" in *The Waste Land* does not chronicle the death of their relationship, it seems clear that their *maladie à deux* drove him to a breakdown. Mad Vivien hurt him into poetry.

Perhaps the weakest aspect of the

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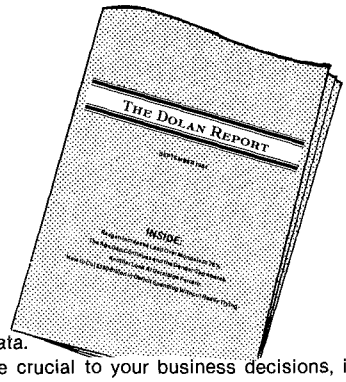

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book is the discussion of Eliot's apparently quack treatment by Dr. Roger Vittoz—there is no reference to Harry Trosman's article on this subject in the *Archives of General Psychiatry* (May 1974)—who required his patients to repeat simple tasks and believed in physical contact to "draw off the weight of nervousness." Eliot could just as well have taken cold baths and done calisthenics. The main reason for his "cure" (he soon had a second breakdown) was his temporary separation from the vampiric Vivien. Common sense also suggests that Eliot, scarred by Vivien, could not bring himself to marry coevals like Emily Hale and Mary Trevelyan; that marriage to Valerie became possible when he reached an age where he could accept her adoration without emotional and sexual reciprocation.

In *The Waste Land*, written when Eliot was recovering from his breakdown in Lausanne, he transformed his personal disgust and guilt about sexual relations (partly inspired by Vivien's "purulent offensive discharge") into a public expression of the malaise of our time. In so doing, he inadvertently made fashionable the expression of authentic mania in confessional poetry, such as that of Roethke, Berryman, Lowell, Sexton, and Plath.

In contrast to his great contemporaries, Conrad, Ford, Lewis, Lawrence, Pound, and Joyce, Eliot established the context for the evaluation of his own work and came to embody in his lifetime the cultural order he once had sought. Yet fame, literary achievement, even religious belief did not bring him contentment. Ackroyd never quite explains what drove the aged eagle to give endless lectures abroad when he could scarcely drag himself to the platform and had nothing more to say. Like most great men, he seemed to be gnawed by self-doubt and needed continual adulation—from his audience as well as from his wife.

Ackroyd, who quotes Edmund Wilson's remark that Eliot was a perfect "self-invented character" and mentions that Eliot's commitment to English life and history was artificial, an act of will, does not develop the full implications of these statements. Despite Eliot's long years in England, he was essentially American—he actually wore American underwear beneath his English apparel—and retained his puritan conscience under his bowler hat. □

INFINITE AMPLITUDE

Thomas P. McDonnell

The Essays, Articles, and Reviews of Evelyn Waugh, edited by Donat Gallagher (Little, Brown, 662 pp., $40)

THE PUBLISHER Little, Brown of Boston and the imported editor Donat Gallagher of North Queensland, Australia, in 1977 collaborated to produce a moderately slender volume of selections from the journalistic writings of Evelyn Waugh. That 192-page book, called *A Little Order*, was evidently considered to have been such a splendidly good idea that the same partnership has now expanded the original notion into the Very Big Order of this literally voluminous, 662-page feast of Waugh.

Unlike its modest trial run, here is Waugh in infinite amplitude, and just when we figured that he had nothing more to say to us. But here he is, indeed, in a dazzling variety of opinion and evaluation that covers a wide and lively range of subject matter. American readers of his novels would perhaps not have known that Waugh had produced so much journalistic writing of a lasting kind between the works of so brilliant a body of novels.

In a very substantial sense, *The Essays, Articles, and Reviews* is nonpareil Waugh, the joustings of our last knight-errant thrusting a deadly lance here and there against the follies of the Modern World—but it is also much more than only that. For the confirmed Waughsian, this is an invaluable and necessary collection. In view of the riches and the sheer amount of work that have gone into this veritable tome, one need only blink once at the price. From that point on, consider it a sound investment.

It was also worth going all the way to Australia to get Professor Donat Gallagher of James Cook University to do the job. He has done it superbly (even though he fails to include a sardonically choice review of Jessica Mitford's *The American Way of Death*, which the present reviewer had secured from Waugh for publication in the newspaper of the Boston archdiocese). Professor Gallagher divides the book into chronological—and, at the same time, thematic—sections in such a way as to present an incredibly full overview of Waugh's various writings and opinions. The introductions, both biographical and critical, to the several sections are priceless for anyone interested in Evelyn Waugh.

Some of the fugitive pieces included here are among the best that Waugh has written anywhere, and for years now they have been unavailable to the general reader and especially to the reader in America. To provide but one example of this, we now have restored to us Waugh's marvelous essay on "Sloth" that was published in the *Sunday Times* (London) in 1962, as a contribution to a series on the general theme of the Seven Deadly Sins. It is also good to see again Waugh's extensive article, "The American Epoch in the Catholic Church," which was originally printed in *Life* magazine (September 19, 1949) and which veteran readers may still recall as a slightly ominous misreading of things to come. There are such curios as Waugh's eminently fair review, when most others were pre-eminently unfair, of Hemingway's *Across the River and into the Trees* (1950), and one is reminded again of Waugh's gifts of perception in his early recognition of Edith Stein and other figures of the period.

This copious volume serves, too, to remind us that Evelyn Waugh was the writer who, of all contemporary writers, has given us the most subtle and exquisite balance between substance and elegance. His profoundest observations always had about them the saving grace of elegance; and that elegance, its wit and eternal intelligence, were seldom lacking in the profoundest kind of substance. Countless writers today may have one or the other gift, dour substance merely or an inimitable sense of style, but few have ever consistently combined them in the proportions achieved by Waugh. The one American belletrist who comes anywhere close to the Evelyn Waugh of *The Essays, Articles, and Reviews* is John Updike in his almost equally generous collection of essays, *Hugging the Shore*, and he has been working this field virtually alone since the death of Evelyn Waugh. In the present collection, however, we clearly have Waugh revivified. □

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FILM

AUTOMATA

John Simon

FOR ALL its flaws, *The Killing Fields* is an important, indeed necessary, film. Based on an article in *The New York Times Magazine* by Sydney Schanberg, it tells the story of the friendship between Schanberg, then the *Times* correspondent in Cambodia, and his Cambodian translator and guide, Dith Pran, before, during, and after the takeover of that luckless country by the Khmer Rouge. It also tells of Dith Pran's fearful ordeal in various labor camps after Schanberg's departure, of Schanberg's guilt feelings for not letting his protégé, whose services he needed, escape with his evacuated wife and children before the fall of Phnom Penh (though he was eager enough to stay), of the American journalist's efforts to locate and rescue his companion, and of how the latter finally, with almost superhuman effort, did manage to escape to Thailand and fall into Sydney's arms. And also of Nixon-Kissinger's deleterious, disastrous involvement in Cambodian affairs.

The main problem with the film, written by Bruce Robinson and directed by Roland Joffé (whose first feature film, after work in theater and TV documentaries, this was), is that it tries to do too much, which leads to oversimplification and superficiality in some areas, and the elision of relevant facts. For example, it does not show us how Dith Pran recruits the companions for his eventual escape or that his wife, angry at him for staying with Schanberg rather than leaving with her and the kids, divorces him upon arriving in America. It glosses over Sydney's selfishness and doesn't adequately examine Dith Pran's motives for staying on.

There are other difficulties. Thus the foreground action, the friendship between the two men, is not written and directed well enough to make it worthy of a background so tragic and so graphically conveyed as the Cambodian genocide in which Pol Pot and his hordes exterminated some 40 per cent of Cambodia's population, as stupidly as viciously, merely for having been able to function under the admittedly corrupt, American-backed Lon Nol regime, merely for speaking a foreign language. The background of senseless and exacerbating American bombings, of people dying and living coolly with the deaths of others (whether by foreign bombs or domestic ad hoc executions) as if nothing unusual were happening, of works of art perishing in the midst of cataclysm and silently rebuking the engulfing brutality—these things are brilliantly yet unostentatiously depicted, in the manner of Auden's Old Masters (in "Musée des Beaux Arts") who "never forgot / That even the dreadful martyrdom must run its course / Anyhow in a corner, some untidy spot / Where the dogs go on with their doggy life . . ." Accordingly, blood spurts in the most casual manner, heart-rending amputees lie about inconspicuously bleeding, life-and-death operations are being performed with insufficient staff and medical supplies under enemy harassment—yet all this is portrayed from the point of view of war-hardened observers, from the corner of the eye and with a muzzled heart, and infinitely more shocking and shattering for it.

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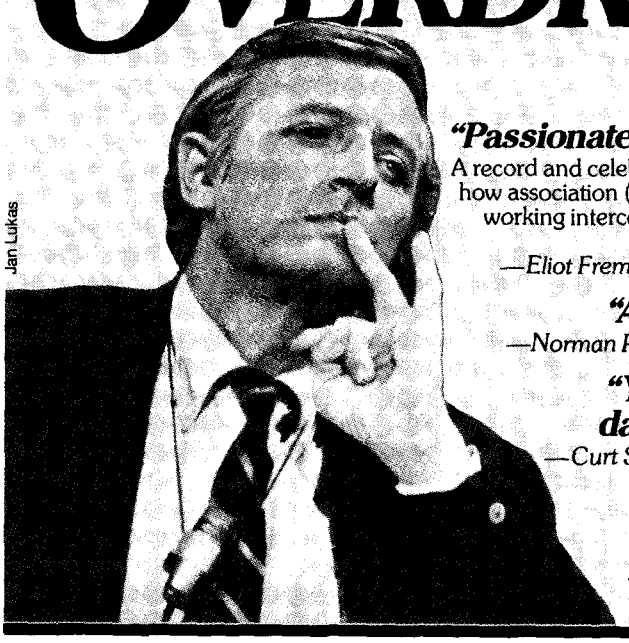
William F. Buckley, Jr.

OVERDRIVE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There are trenchantly observed episodes even in the more diffuse first half of the film. Take such a scene as the helicopter evacuation of the Americans and a select few natives while crowds of other Cambodians beat, like caged and frenzied birds, against the wire gates that condemn them to probable death. Meanwhile the windstorms stirred up by the helicopters reduce figures like the athletic American ambassador, who would normally tower over the Cambodians, to a humbled stoop if not a shamed crouch, which makes the exodus assume the air of a humiliating hugger-mugger. Even more unforgettable are the incidents of the Khmer Rouge takeover wherein teenaged Communists round up foreign journalists and their retinue, arbitrarily killing some and sparing others, the way capricious children squash one insect and ignore the next. Here Dith Pran's self-abasing persistence as he grovels to these young hoodlums in hero's clothing (often stripped off their victims), and the untranslated palaver that circulates among them while journalists with their hands up don't know whether the jig is up and on what this depends, incomparably convey the grotesqueries of high tragedy.

In the second half, where the film chiefly records Dith Pran's ghastly experiences and resourceful courage in captivity, *The Killing Fields* rises to those heights where our tears flow even as our blood is chilled. Seldom has man's inhumanity to man been shown with such scrupulously understated harrowingness, and the scenes in which green-behind-the-ears Reds murder innocent adults simply because their hands are not callused enough are truly, earnedly horrifying—and also instructive. Consider especially the one in which a zombie-like girl of perhaps 13 uproots the tomato plant Dith Pran has clandestinely been growing in the labor camp: It is one of the most frightening moments in recent cinema. For these young ones have perfectly empty eyes, like the damned children or pod people of sundry horror films, only this is fact. Dr. Haing S. Ngor, a refugee Cambodian physician who experienced this terror and torture and here enacts Dith Pran, raced away during the shooting of this scene. "The Khmer! The Khmer!" he shouted.

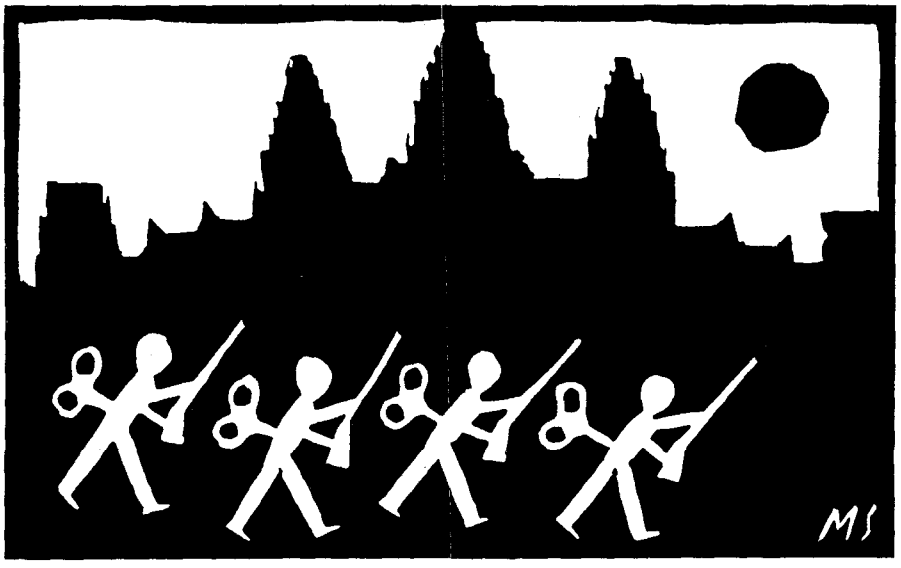
The supreme lesson of the film is how much more ruthless children can be than their toughest elders, how nothing takes to murderous fanaticism like an unformed, brainwashed mind. But there are many other scenes of overwhelming power in *The Killing Fields*, notably a sequence I do not wish to divulge that gives the film its title. What does not convince, however, is the scenes in New York, when we crosscut from Dith Pran's apocalyptic agonies to Schanberg's more comfortable anguishings while, for example, he listens to Franco Corelli singing "*Nessun dorma.*" (Is this meant as mockery?) After a promising beginning, Mike Oldfield's background music becomes too loud, too cheap, too explanatory of the obvious, and, in the final scene, when it borrows John Lennon's trivial "Imagine" to celebrate the stirring reunion, it is totally off-key.

So, too, is most of the acting of Sam Waterston as Sydney. He is one of those unfortunate American performers who cannot grow up, who always look and sound like clockwork adult figurines wound up with a key and strutting on a table top. The peak of Waterston's passion is a sort of peevish pique. Conversely, Haing S. Ngor is extremely moving in his earnest, self-controlled way—an amateur actor who approaches his role from harsh experience with absolute histrionic abstemiousness. In supporting parts, John Malkovich and Julian Sands give idiomatic authenticity to an American photojournalist and British correspondent, respectively; Spalding Gray as a diplomatic, and Craig T. Nelson as a military, ugly American are not far behind. The film, prodigiously photographed by Chris Menges on realistic Thai locations, tries hard to be even-handedly objective. It does, however, have a few too many loose ends and thriller clichés; without them, it would be stronger yet.

I HAVE NO intention of stooping to review *Stop Making Sense*, in which Jonathan Demme has shot and spliced together three concerts by Talking Heads, oxymoronically said to be the intellectuals' rock group. I have scant use for rock 'n' roll, than which I find only one thing more ludicrous: an educated adult's enthusiasm for it. About this mind-starving and ear-blasting, verbally and musically as well as cinematographically uninventive film I have read nothing but abjectly reverential reviews bursting with hosannas.

At the screening I attended, Pauline Kael was taking nonstop notes, and surely took my walking out after some twenty minutes and perhaps inadvertently stepping on her toes for an act of *lèse-majesté*. Here are a few excerpts from her panegyric in *The New Yorker*:

> David Byrne [the composer-writer and lead singer] comes on alone . . . for the first number, "Psycho Killer." He's so white he's almost mock-white, and so are his jerky, long-necked, mechanical-man movements. He seems fleshless, bloodless; he might almost be a black man's parody of how a clean-cut white man moves. . . . Byrne's voice isn't a singer's voice . . . It's more like a shouter's . . . he's always . . . jiggling, aerobic walking, jumping, dancing. . . . Byrne has a withdrawn, disembodied, sci-fi quality, and though there's something . . . almost autistic about him, he makes autism fun [and epilepsy a gas?]. He gives the group its modernism—the undertone of repressed hysteria . . . He's a handsome freaky golem. . . . Byrne may not be



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human . . . but he's a stupefying performer—he even bobs his head like a chicken, in time to the music.

This last would be more impressive from an actual chicken. Well, we live in a wonderful age in which such drivel passes for criticism, in which autism, catatonia, barely repressed hysteria, and golemism become terms of high praise. There are several columns' worth of this in Miss Kael's review, which you might want to check out for fun-filled critical autism—shared, it seems, by legions of other happy hysterics—and, if you have the misfortune of being a paleface, at least learn to mitigate it by behaving like a black man's parody of a clean-cut white man.

You, too, could manage to become what Miss Kael rapturously calls "a revved-up catatonic . . . an aesthetician who works in the modernist mode of scary, catatonic irony." Or, scarier yet, learn to write in this mode of a non-ironic, humorless critical St. Vitus' dance. *Stop Making Sense*, Miss Kael tells us (having absorbed the lesson of its title), is "close to perfection." But I am no less fond of a review in *Vogue*, where a Miss Tracy Young concludes: "[The Heads] drove John Simon right out of the screening room, so they can't be all bad." As critical yardsticks go, this one will do as well as any. □

THE GIMLET EYE

THE PHONE-SEX INDUSTRY–PART I

D. Keith Mano

WHAT goes on?

Hello? This the reader? No, I'm not calling collect again. Listen, I wantcha t'meet my friend, Bliss—I mean, in case you phone her next week for some nice electronic sex. Bliss (age all-of-twenty) has mad prematurely blond hair. She lives life in the express-bus lane: 5′6″, 38-27-38, and so healthy right now she has a C-cup Nike bra on. Bliss is bright, humorous, and great-hearted as the Grain Belt. I think she'll be a star on Broadway or TV in no time—and end up with some notable pinball machine named after her. Face and attitude read *big*: she's sort of a punk Mae

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West. Her favorite T-shirt is printed up with this—THE ONE WHO HAS THE MOST THINGS WHEN HE DIES, WINS. Anyway, last fall, Bliss tried to get a job doing credit-card phone sex. And it wasn't simple, let her tell you.

After two dozen calls, Bliss came up with dull cuttlebone. Not hiring. Can't help you, try again. There are plenty of apertures in phone sex but few openings. Heck, these women make $350 to $400 per week while at home. They'd rather give up ovulation than the job. Three weeks later Bliss did hook one exception: a just-formed New Jersey outfit that wanted her to start —$7 each call—next A.M. No training, one test call, contract in the mail before she had hung up.

The New Jersey contract was two mimeo pages of asexual harassment. "Never threaten, blackmail, intimidate, or be party to extortion against any customer." (Gee, some people are no fun.) "Never discuss subjects dealing with sex with minors, child abuse, or any type of bodily injury. Never record or make notes of a conversation between yourself and a client." (Very atypical: most services *require* the

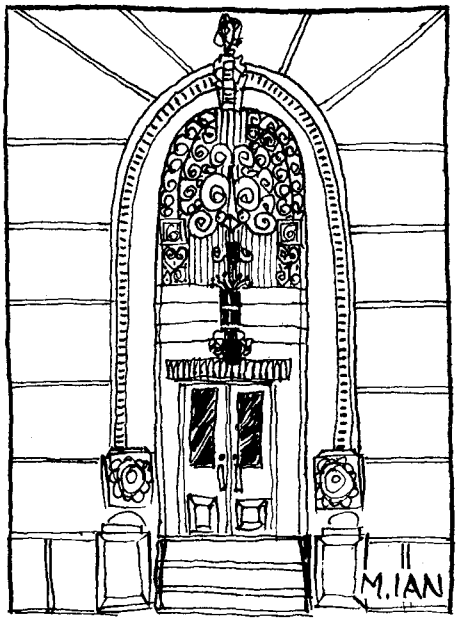
THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

THE NOTION of a $2-trillion deficit by the year 2000 is already as much a part of the national heritage as California or Bust, WE DO OUR PART, and the Sixteenth Amendment. It is also an evitable part, according to J. Peter Grace, chief executive officer, since 1945, of W. R. Grace & Co., chairman of President Reagan's Private Sector Survey on Cost Control, and author of *Burning Money: The Waste of Your Tax Dollars* (Macmillan, $14.95).

Grace, a registered Democrat, accepted at once the President's offer, made unexpectedly by telephone, to chair the new cost-study commission, because (as William Faulkner remarked upon being requested by President Eisenhower to undertake a goodwill mission to the Far East) "when your President asks you to do something, you do it." He did have qualms, however: Reagan had made it clear on the phone that the project was to be entirely a volunteer effort to which the government would contribute not a penny, and Grace was sensitive to the risk of presumptuousness in asking the cream of the American executive class to contribute its time and money to researching and preparing a report that might well immediately afterward be put up on the shelf. Nevertheless, the scheme had already been successfully tested (by Governor Reagan, in the state of California) a while back, and Grace had himself been keeping a weather eye on the federal budget for years. By June of 1982 he was at work with a staff of two thousand corporate volunteers.

What Grace and his colleagues discovered frankly appalled them: The Federal Government, they concluded, is run "horribly." Granted that government is not a "business," much less a profit-making one, it remains a managerial institution, subject like all such institutions to the requirement of observing certain developed rules. Less important perhaps to the careless profligacy of government than the absence of any need to show profit is the absence of any competitor claiming the ability to handle the work better and more efficiently. Of nearly equal importance is the political nature of the governmental accounting and budgeting systems, which "are just about useless as a means of controlling costs," since "the federal budget itself is a political statement, not a financial document, and bears only a vague resemblance to similarly titled documents in the private sector." Once the budget has been decided upon and the bureaucrats have received their mandate to *spend*, there's no looking back—all previous budgets having been relegated to the vast mausoleum of historical irrelevancy.

Astonishingly, the Federal Government has no centralized management for financial and accounting operations: "This is the basic cause of the government's problems with cash management, debt collection, inventory management, and financial reporting." (The U.S. Government, for example, "keeps no historical record of its spending by line item—things such as utility costs, phone bills, travel . . .") Further, despite the almost obscene amount of paperwork the bureaucracy churns out, it suffers from a system-wide "information gap" (caused partly by the extreme obsolescence of its computer equipment) that makes it difficult if not impossible to control these inefficiencies, while a rapid turnover in agency management and the absence of incentives for federal personnel to pursue efficiency as a primary goal of their labors create an administrative and personnel nightmare.



And yet, as Grace makes clear, it is, finally, the inflationary nature of representative government and the welfare state that has arisen from it that has created from an administrative weakness an impending national catastrophe. Between them, nineteenth-century boondoggle and twentieth-century chiseling, laxity, and tergiversation have produced a bureaucratic monstrosity, a beast with a million self-interested eyes that has managed effectively to hamstring the executive branch of government, rendering it impotent to correct the literally thousands of abuses threatening to bring down the entire edifice —and, eventually, the society that created it in the first place and continues (albeit reluctantly) to support it. In Mr. Grace's opinion, the deficit problem can be reduced to manageable proportions simply by cutting waste, and *without* detriment to the welfare of that constituency whose most vocal supporters have for twenty years now formed a Cromwellian army of the "compassionate." Grace is not backward in suggesting specific ways, but I am out of space and *Burning Money* is deserving of sales—and readers. □

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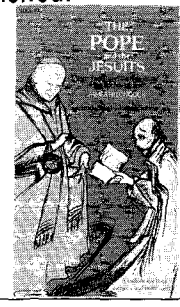

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woman to log her aural sex. He might request you again next week. More to the point, he might try beating his VISA bill.) Well, it's better than plant-sitting, Bliss thought.

Loretta—a veteran phone-sex pitch-woman—agreed to let Bliss eavesdrop on her graveyard shift. But talk isn't cheap: the lesson will cost $100. Bliss is nervous: suppose she catches cold. Laryngitis, in this context, would be a sexual dysfunction.

Hi-ho, Silver. Back to the Golden Days of Radio again. Loretta was about 46, somewhat pushy and hyper, but as professional as Mel Blanc doing Elmer Fudd. She had a small sound-effects department bed spread around. A vinyl pillow (for hand spanking noise), a whisk broom (good whip snap). Every now and then, when a dominant shout or submissive scream was called for by the improvisation, Loretta disappeared under top sheet and blanket. She didn't want to break her apartment lease. Sergeant Preston and Sky King, where are you? "Sorta like being raped by Gerald McBoing-Boing," Bliss said.

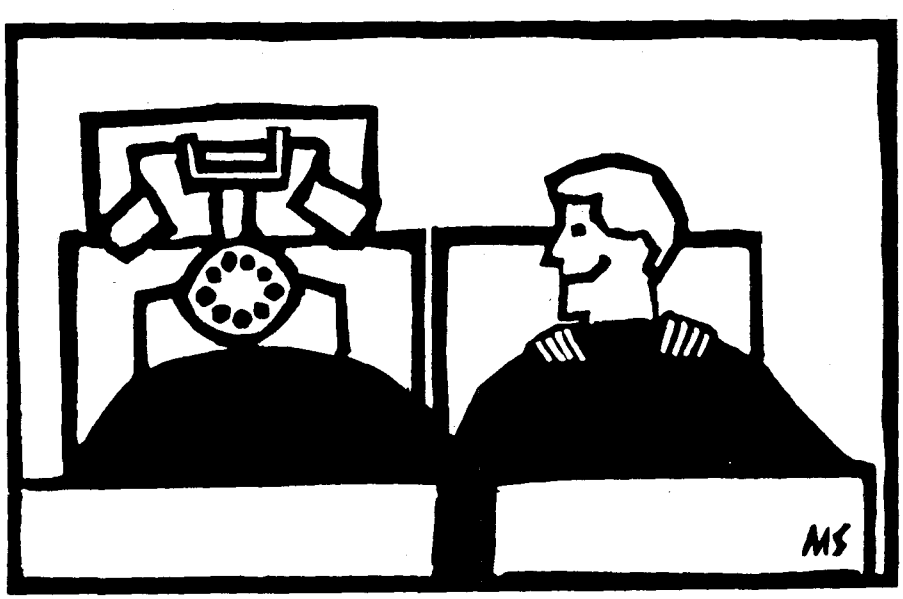
Between calls Loretta would ring the office. "Paul is done. Who's next? Oh, I've had him before. Wears pink panties and lives in El Paso. No, he's not straight, he's submissive. I'm going in as Claudia." (Claudia was her mistress name. Vicky, her straight name. Sapphire, or something, her black name.) "Collect call from Claudia for anyone. Hi, Phil. Your mistress is 5′7″, 27 years old, Nordic blonde. Do you like that?" In this line of work you'll never need silicone implants. The voice doesn't get cellulite. Loretta punches in a fifty-hour week at $6 per call ($9 if she is requested). Coolie pay by industry standards but Loretta took inordinate pride in her work. Anything, you know, to stay in show biz. You gotta be fast and sharp as a patter song when doing phone sex. It probably won't impress Harold Prince on the résumé, but . . .

Finally, Bliss got hired as an apprentice. How could she fail? Bliss has this moist voice—she might be speaking around a Fudgsicle. Her delivery is sensuous, unique, and cute as little platypuses.

"First they taught me t'do the receptionist part. Wow, that's work. Y'gotta call MasterCard up. Then y'gotta call directory assistance t'get a street address. Then ask what kinda sex they want. I listened to maybe fifty calls. Then they said, Go into the fantasy bedroom and get your feet wet or whatever else part of you feels like it. They're real cute. They gave a corsage my first night on.

"Y'know. I thought I'd be ashamed or embarrassed t'say some of those things. But after y'talk to a guy—least for a few minutes—y'get a relationship up. And it's cool then. They were all nice. I'd come outa the fantasy room and say, 'Sigh, he was sweet.' The whole phone thing, it isn't cold at all. It's—it's intimate is what. Real super intimate."

Leave that on your answering machine, friend. Bliss knows: she is a child of the telephone. My own children, not much younger than she, drop dimes (well, quarters) when they do their courting, confiding, sharing. In fact, I'd suspect that you and I, we're less honest, less real, face to face. Hell, almost no one has acne or yak breath or out-of-style clothing at long distance. We can be confident, straightforward. The phone is therapeutic: it can liberate. Why d'you think Freud sat at the head of his couch and just behind—where he couldn't quite be seen? He was phoning his presence in. Like it or not, the telephone (in 1800 it was the letter) has become our most personal and affecting form of communication. Essential human contact, almost by definition, must be mind to mind, not body to body. And, besides, I'm six foot three with a receiver in my hand. □



BOOKS IN BRIEF

The Hill Towns of Italy, photographs by Richard Kauffman, text by Carol Field (Dutton, 100 pp., $35)

OF PHOTOGRAPH BOOKS of Italy there is no end; nor should there be, when they are as beautifully conceived and produced as *The Hill Towns of Italy*, which contains 64 pages of four-color photographs as well as an informative text. Strictly speaking, "hill towns" refers to those of Tuscany and Umbria, which are in fact the only regions covered. *Only?* Tuscany and Umbria comprise a universe, and who that has been blessed to know their terrain can ever think of it as anything less than a holy land? As in the Sistine "Creation of Adam," here the hand of God and the hand of man seem to meet at their most gracious and creative, in landscape, architecture, and art that bear witness as permanently as anything physical possibly can to a vision of felicity, to proportion, humanity, piety, and beatitude. Here, even tourism turns inevitably into pilgrimage, or perhaps reveals its real existential root and goal as pilgrimage; and the wanderings of modern people, like those of Odysseus, seem while in this landscape to be nearing home: "*la via, la vita, e la verità.*" For here we see farmhouses, villas, *palazzi*, and cathedrals with the most satisfying proportions and dispositions ever achieved by the human hand and eye. We are constantly reminded of an era in which energy, craft, invention, skill, and art were popularly alive and fruitful, before *affect* was withdrawn from work,

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the tool became more competent than the workman, and "grey truth" became our "painted toy," putting the marks of the beast and its "hideous strength" on our industrial and commercial landscape. The photographer, Richard Kauffman, clearly aspires to the richest and most romantically artistic conceptions—no ancient-modern contrasts, no shock tactics as in the photographs of *Art and Culture of Italy: Too Late to Be Saved?* Kauffman richly succeeds in depicting the glorious, almost heart-rending loveliness of these most beautiful of small cities. Christian humanism still haunts the landscape, which bears a distinct and irreducible spiritual imprint. Those who love this region cannot help but quibble with some of the photographic choices in this book: Why not show Urbino, just over the border in the Marches and, with Assisi, the loveliest hill town of them all? Why show Volterra, and not the far lovelier Massa Marittima? And Todi is not well served. But this is only a quibble rather than a serious criticism of a gorgeously produced book that catches some of the eternity, and some of the beatitude, of the most poignantly felicitous countryside and noble cityscape in the world. M. D. AESCHLIMAN

Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen: A Memoir, by Clifton Daniel (Arbor House, 253 pp., $16.95)

THIS IS frothy stuff—notes from the datebook of a modern-day Regency rake. Mr. Daniel, formerly a foreign correspondent and managing editor of the *New York Times*, here serves up a confection of the royalty and politicians in his past, ranging from the Duke of Westminster to his father-in-law, Harry S. Truman. A man of "considerable charm and polish," in the words of his boss Turner Catledge, Mr. Daniel had, if not "presence," social grace, which stood him in good stead in all the right circles and sets in London, New York, and Washington. For an idea of the kinds of stories Mr. Daniel relates, consider the following: "It has been alleged, with some justification, that I was partial to rich and celebrated ladies. And why not? As a rule they lived in grander houses, served better food and drink, wore prettier clothes and bigger pearls, were more sophisticated and amusing, had more glittering friends, and did wonders for my ego." It's a wonderful life, and that is the kind of book *Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen* is, featuring as it does caviar for breakfast in Kharkhov, grouse at the White House with President Kennedy, and a light lunch with Israel's president Chaim Herzog. The author, who is of a type once known as "clubbable," emphasizes table-talk and, even more, the tables and the names (and lineages) of the talkers. *Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen*, while too cloying for a steady diet, makes a delectable dessert. JOE MYSAK

Present Perspectives: Critical Writings, by Robert Craft (Knopf, 433 pp., $18.95)

THE FIRST HALF of *Present Perspectives*, Robert Craft's third collection of essays, constitutes an awe-inspiring exhibition of conspicuous polymathy: two-hundred-odd pages of incisive commentary on such things as Evelyn Waugh's journalism, Prokofiev's autobiography, Arlene Croce's dance criticism, T. S. Eliot's view of prose fiction, and Berg's *Wozzeck*. At page 215, Mr. Craft switches over to the specialty of the house: seven essays and a lengthy set of diary entries dealing with various aspects of Igor Stravinsky's career. Mr. Craft is not always critically sound. (He considers Waugh's *A Handful of Dust* and "Mr. Loveday's Little Outing" to be "the best products of his imaginative world," and he completely misses the boat on the question of Shostakovich's greatness as a composer —two conspicuous examples.) He is, however, unfailingly intelligent, a more immediately relevant consideration in books of this sort; moreover, he has at last refined the neo-Nabokovian tricks out of his prose style. The result very nearly justifies the continued existence of *The New York Review of Books*, in which most of these fine essays originally saw print; had Mr. Craft thought to equip *Present Perspectives* with an index, I might have even broken down and subscribed. TERRY TEACHOUT

Murder at the Met, by David Black (Dial, 300 pp., $15.95)

ON JULY 23, 1980, Helen Hagnes Mintiks, a beautiful young violinist, was taking a break during a ballet performance at the Metropolitan Opera House. In an elevator, she was accosted by a stagehand, Craig Crimmins, who propositioned her. She slapped him. He took her to one of the lower levels of the building and tried to rape her. Threatening her with a hammer, he then took her up several levels, stripped her, tied her up, and threw her to her death down an air shaft. In taut prose, communicating the feel of tough New York life, David Black describes the murder and the splendid detective work that tracked down the murderer. Essentially it involved a minute and exhaustive examination of who was where in the building and when on the day of the murder. But this is much more than a fine detective story. Black deals with the distinction between the world of art at the Met and the street world inhabited by both the murderer and the detectives. One detective "was continually amazed by how unaffected the performers and artists at the Met seemed to be by Helen's murder"; they inhabited the world of the ideal. Black deals with the intense class feeling separating the Met crew from performers and audience, and the distortions of the press, which not only played the case for sensation but sympathized with the killer. Craig Crimmins appears to have been motivated by sexual desire and social envy, a mixture that was ignited when Helen Mintiks slapped him. But there is a darkness beyond any such definable mixture. In its various aspects, this case is as important socially and philosophically as, for example, the Manson case or the case of Yale murderer Richard Herrin. JEFFREY HART

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THE SECRET MEMO

NEW YORK, NOV. 26

Memo to: The President
From: Jim
Re: Tomorrow, and the day after

I didn't tell you this last January, because I knew you had made up your mind to run again. But it won't hurt to tell you now. Was talking with Swifty Lazar, and I don't have to tell anyone who worked in Hollywood anything about Swifty's shrewdness. Well, Swifty was predicting you wouldn't run again, and here's how he put it. He said, "Ron quitting in 1984 has got to be a happier man than Ron quitting in 1988. It's just that simple. We know already that in 1984 the recession will have been pronounced a thing of the past, and that there wasn't a world war, inflation was down, interest rates down, employment up. So Ron, who is a crafty fellow, will figure: What's the point of gambling on the future? Any number of things can go wrong by 1988. And I might be leaving Washington like Herbert Hoover leaving in 1933, or Neville Chamberlain leaving No. 10 in 1940. Why not grab the historical brass ring right now? That way it will always be mine."

You know something, boss, Swifty was pretty convincing. I didn't tell him I knew you had already made up your mind. But now is the time to think in terms of Lazar's points, and that's the object of this memo.

You have basically two choices: To move dramatically—radically. Or to go gradually. The risk of the latter is far greater than the risk of the former. Because gradual movement is subject to erosion. Dramatic movement captures the imagination, and any failure to realize the vision conjured up tends historically to be attributed to the people, the Congress, whatever: but not to the idealist. Woodrow Wilson was a corpse when he left the White House, but they were saying about him—and still say about him—that he was the great idealist whose vision might have brought world peace. Etc., etc. (I think Wilson was a little nutty, but some people think you're a little nutty, and you know what I think about them? I think about them the same that Nancy thinks about them.)

So when Congress convenes, give them the business. Nothing half—what's that word George uses? . . . Right. No halfway measures.

Tell 'em you want a flat tax at 30 per cent. With zero tax for the first $10,000. So no one below the poverty line will be paying any tax at all.

No more exemptions except for charity and mortgage interest (that's a political concession, not something I'd otherwise recommend).

Call for a return to the gold standard, so that some other criterion than the pooled judgment of the Fed can have a say about the value of money.

Urge the Fed to ease up on the money supply until short-term paper reaches an interest level of, say, 4 per cent.

Freeze entitlements.

Graduate the age at which Social Security benefits become available to correspond with increases in longevity.

Now, brace yourself, boss:

In foreign policy, ask for a declaration of war against Cuba. Make it clear that you are asking only for legal license to do whatever it's necessary to do to prevent Cuba from fueling revolutionary movements all around Latin America. If a country is at war with another country it doesn't mean you begin dropping A-bombs. It means that you acknowledge corporate hostilities, and that you intend to fight as required. Castro's Cuba is a cesspool, poisoning efforts to restore democracy and order. Get Moynihan to back the declaration. He loves it when things are legal. Things will now be legal. And a declaration of war against Castro's Cuba would have a hell of an effect around the world.

ANNOUNCE THAT 5 per cent of the military budget will go for buying grain to ship to countries whose people have been made hungry by socialism. Ethiopia is the best current example. Psychological warfare combines here with humanitarianism. Anybody tells you why can't they grow their own grain, you tell them no reason, except Communism discourages enterprise. That's right: Russia exported grain until 1917. And then, what do you know, they had 67 straight droughts in a row, yeah.

On disarmament, easy. You will accept any proposed measures to lower existing arms, none that aim at arresting efforts to promote a defense shield in space. That's the Reagan Administration's principal technological contribution, like Kennedy's man-on-the-moon, except that this one could finally blunt the Soviet threat.

Go that way, and whatever happens, in 1988 your name will be big. If you want more details, you know where you can find your old friend Jim. □

EXIT JEANE KIRKPATRICK

NEW YORK, DEC. 3

YOU MAY NOT have noticed it, in part because it is the practice of the art that you should not do so—the best disparagement is done subliminally—but the attacks on Jeane Kirkpatrick during the past month or two have been incessant, unpleasant, and, by design, lethal. She is said to be difficult to work with; it is said of her that she is erratic and—the word most frequently used—that she is "temperamental." If, by the way, you are in the market for examples of male chauvinism, watch when they use the word "temperamental." They are usually talking about either Arturo Toscanini, or a woman. The word has been used so frequently about Jeane Kirkpatrick that John Lofton, in one of those fleeted cracks he so frequently generates, asked in his column, "Is it intended to suggest that Mrs. Kirkpatrick is temperamental once a month?"

One does not lightly take on the burden of painting this woman in such terms, given what one has to work against. She has been married to one man, for 29 years. She has had one major academic attachment, to which she now intends to return. She has served in the United Nations longer than any other ambassador since Adlai Stevenson. This is hardly the way temperamental and erratic and tempestuous people behave. But it now appears that her government career is ended. Temporarily, some of us hope.

When she called a press conference a few days ago, it was for the purpose of outlining the achievements of the past year in the United Nations. The voting on matters concerning the United States was more

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favorable, by more nations, than at any time since we lost control of the UN General Assembly, and that happened about 25 years ago. This was the result of hard administrative work by Mrs. Kirkpatrick and her staff, always done under her strict supervision.

But when it was agreed that she would answer a single question relating to herself, and that question was: What are your personal plans, Madam Ambassador? and she said, To go back to academic life—that was what got all the attention. There was some amusing badinage. Someone said he doubted very much that Mrs. Kirkpatrick would "be able to walk away from government," to which she replied that government service ought not to be spoken of as "a Turkish delight." Some listeners were so intrigued by the reference that they thought they were being introduced to some new aspect of the Cyprus problem. They found it so difficult to believe that she actually was going to quit that the Reuters bureau chief sent out his report under the exclusive rubric of a "Bulletin," which is usually reserved for world wars, presidential assassinations, or dulcet editorials in *Pravda*.

Mrs. Kirkpatrick had been saying for a couple of years that she intended soon to quit, and indeed she once mentioned the month of June. She was talked out of leaving at that time on the grounds that doing so in mid-campaign might suggest internal tensions within the Administration at a moment when internal tensions ought not to be advertised. An accommodating and understanding and practical political woman, she understood that, and agreed to proceed until the end of the General Assembly, which more or less coincides with the inauguration of an American President.

WHAT ABOUT those internal tensions? Well, to tell the truth, they do exist. The apparent vector of presidential policy right now is accommodationist. The doves (one wishes for another word to describe them) are drowning out other sounds in the presidential office. None of this would be alarming, except that when the doves take over, the Soviet Union always enhances its position. The three great foreign-policy accomplishments of the first Reagan Administration were 1) the reinvigoration of the Pentagon; 2) the deployment of the intermediate-range missiles in Europe; and 3) the liberation of Grenada. These three developments infuriated the Soviet Union—and made the West stronger. If, now, we head back in the other direction, four years from now will see the West in a position relatively deteriorated.

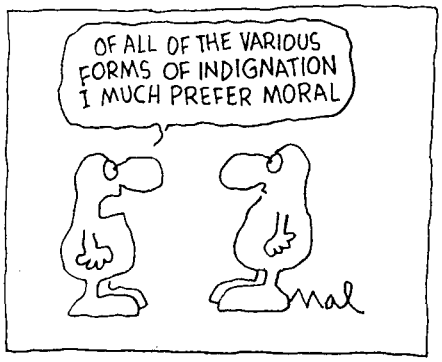
Now, Mrs. Kirkpatrick is a powerhouse. A kind of magnetic field. You can't plant someone like her in an Administration that has set out on a forced march to Arcadia. Her trumpet would shatter the whole of the illusion. And there is no way you can get Jeane Kirkpatrick without getting that trumpet. Her ears are too keen, her morals too unsullied, and her intelligence too honed. It is awful to think that for such reasons she cannot achieve a high position in a Reagan Administration. □

TOOTLE THEM WITH VIGOR

NEW YORK, NOV. 23

A CONVERSATION with Jack Kemp in Washington sheds light on many things, not least interesting the fervency of Mr. Kemp's espousal of his cause. When it was casually suggested that a particular part of his program would help the rich, he reacted almost as Walter Mondale would have done, denouncing that as an objective of his tax program as though he would like it most awfully if he could figure out a way of pushing that program while somehow punishing the rich. But he would acknowledge that it is easier to square a circle.

What this is all about is the coming battle in Congress. A very interesting one because there will be fierce opposition to the flat tax by conventional Republicans, and by Left Democrats, an odd coalition. Among the Republicans are those, led by Jack Kemp, who believe strongly that true, exuberant economic progress can be effected by a sharp modification of the tax code. What is interesting is that among many Democrats there is an appetite for the same kind of thing. It is widely known that the Bradley-Gephardt bill, which has been sunning itself sleepily on the beach, gradually attracting more and more adherents, is a very live option as far as many Democrats are concerned. If Senator Bradley (he wants a three-tiered tax—14 per cent, 26 per cent, 30 per cent) could join forces with Jack Kemp (he wants a flat-rate tax of 25 per cent, with large exemptions for the lower brackets), then the motive power in Congress would be considerable. But the question before the house is: How would President Reagan react?



Or, better, how would David Stockman react, David Stockman serving here as the quarterback for the conservative conservatives? The CCs are here defined as those who look at the size of the deficit, faint, revive themselves, and call for more taxes. This position is not to be despised, in that its pedigree is honorable. Senator Robert Taft, the godfather of post-New Deal congressional conservatism, believed in a balanced budget. He also believed that the combined expenditures of government at all levels should not exceed 25 per cent of the GNP. The figure in America is in the vicinity of 35 per cent, the Federal Government's share of it at about 25 per cent. There are, of course, two ways to shrink the disparity between intake and outgo. One way is to reduce spending, the other way is to increase taxation. By the time Robert Taft died, the third way did not yet have the intellectual backing it now has. The third way is to increase the government's income by increasing the nation's economic activity. They call it supply side, and they are dead serious about it.

What will David Stockman urge on the President? What the Kemp people fear most is that the President will only half-heartedly endorse the flat tax. Less than convincing enthusiasm for it will dull its appeal for the half-hearted. That is traditional thinking on the subject. On the other hand, there are those who feel that Reagan's total identification with a flat tax would have the effect of dulling Democratic appetites for it, the theory being that Democrats do not wish to identify themselves with measures that might work sensationally, leaving it to future Democratic candidates to speak of themselves as in the tradition of Ronald Reagan, even as current presidential Republican candidates speak of themselves as in the tradition of FDR and JFK. Ask yourself the question: Would Senator Bill Bradley turn his back on his own measure if the President were to back him on it?

Kemp doesn't think so, and his analysis is plausible. The point is this, that if supply side works, as he is convinced it would do, the returns to all America, and indeed the world, would be copious. There is a lot of economic energy around, waiting to be untethered by the IRS.

Donald Carroll, the author, published recently in the *New York Times* an amusing collection of instructions in English he has come across traveling in various parts of the world. A car-rental firm in Tokyo advises its clients, "When a passenger of foot heave in sight, tootle the horn. Trumpet at him melodiously first, but if he still obstacles your passage then tootle him with vigor." The time has clearly arrived for President Reagan to tootle David Stockman and Bob Dole and Conservative Orthodoxy with vigor. □

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

Pat Buchanan on Russia

The shooting down of that unarmed Korean airliner by a Soviet MiG is a precise reflection of the character of the criminal regime that rules the Russian people—and [Yuri Andropov] the KGB assassin who heads it.

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Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

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TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

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Z. Orient — 113 47 157 7

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 56 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

						1 O	2 S		3 Q	4 G	5 U	6 H		7 Z	8 V	9 K				
10 C	11 F	12 N	13 E	14 X	15 W		16 M	17 A	18 Y	19 D	20 U	21 L		22 J	23 I	24 P	25 S			
26 H	27 B	28 Q	29 D	30 R	31 W	32 N		33 E	34 K		35 A	36 O	37 F		38 C	39 T	40 X			
41 B	42 V	43 H		44 G	45 J	46 F	47 Z	48 S	49 U	50 Y		51 B	52 I	53 C		54 M	55 A			
56 T		57 D		58 L	59 W	60 J		61 S	62 G	63 C	64 V	65 H	66 Q	67 U	68 K		69 E			
70 P	71 C		72 W	73 F	74 D	75 X	76 K	77 G	78 O	79 A	80 B	81 M		82 G	83 N	84 I	85 T			
86 Y	87 O		88 L	89 D	90 S		91 I	92 E	93 R	94 P	95 B	96 O	97 A	98 K	99 N		100F			
101Y	102C	103D	104E		105J	106V	107F		108H	109U	110A	111Q	112O	113Z		114G	115T			
116C	117R	118S	119Y		120N	121P		122E	123W	124H	125D	126Q		127B	128C		129X			
130D		131V	132B	133H		134J	135I	136K		137P	138B		139J	140A	141L		142L			
143C	144S	145G	146J	147I	148D		149B	150H	151A	152W	153T	154U		155X	156I		157Z			
158K	159O	160C	161E		162B	163I		164U	165T	166R	167O	168L	169U	170N	171M	172H	173F			
	174S	175H	176M	177K	178U	179N	180R	181B	182X	183F										

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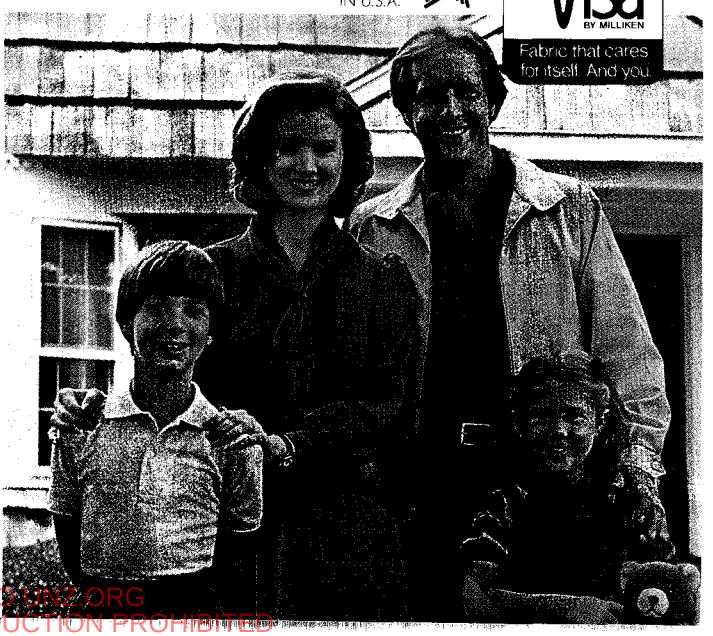

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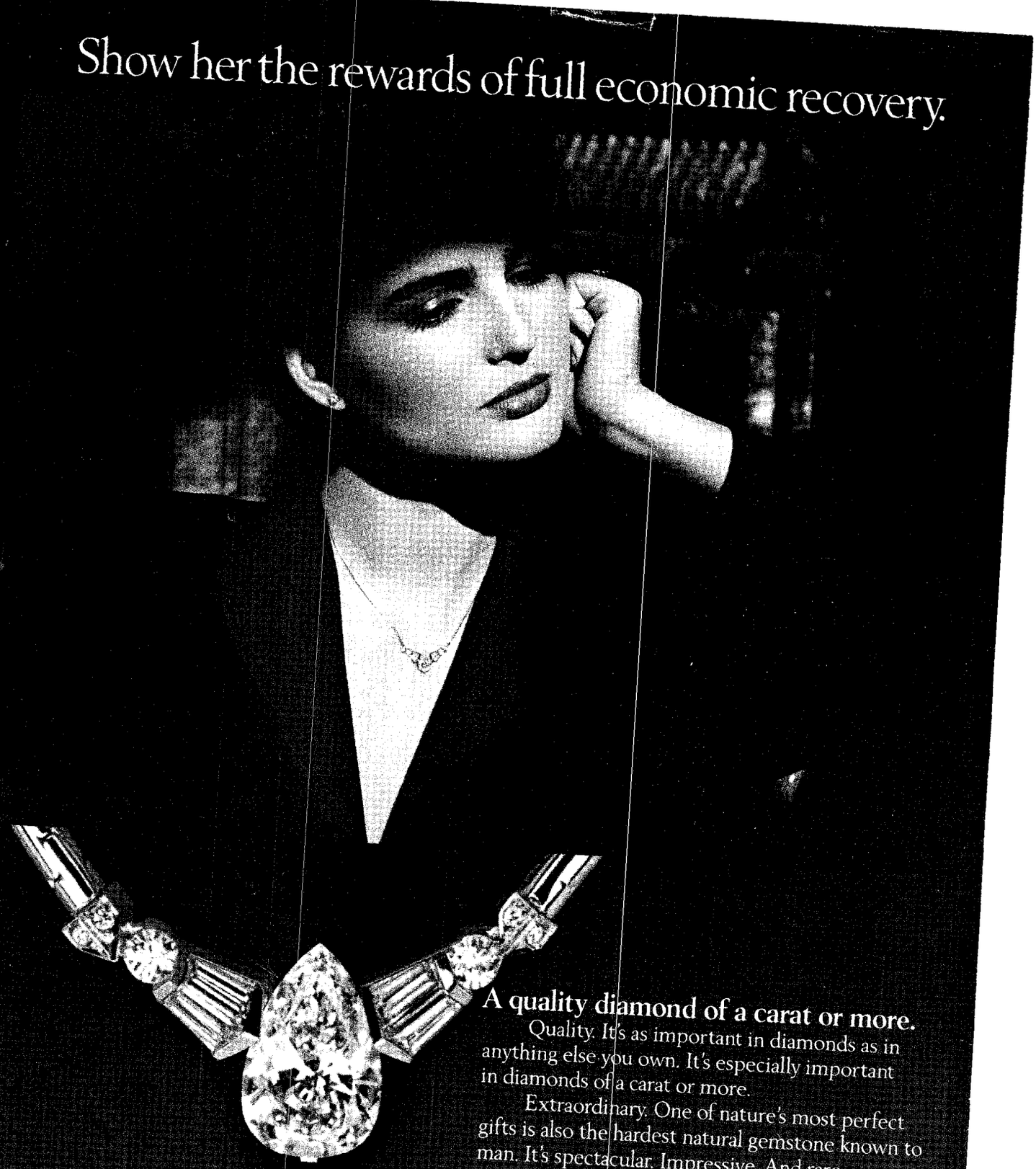

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